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Dutch Life in Pre-Revolutionary Bergen County

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THE Dutch colonial era was profoundly important in shaping this part of America, for it was here that the Dutch took the first steps in orderly government and began the first churches and schools. Here was introduced a people which, bearing the faith and liberal institutions then uniquely characteristic of the Dutch Republic, was to leave its stamp for generations on all phases of life in the region. Until the outbreak of the Revolution, the people in Bergen County were largely of Dutch origin. Up to that time, and indeed for many years afterward, Dutch habit and custom were predominant, and Dutch speech was frequently heard.

Therefore, let us trace influences at work here from the beginning in terms of, *first,* the Dutch era from 1609 to 1664, *second,* the English colonial period from 1664 to 1775, and *third,* the Dutch institutions which made so deep an imprint.

At the outset we should define, geographically and etymologically, the area under discussion. Originally, about 1618, the word

"Bergen"[1] attached to a Dutch trading post that later became the town of Bergen in what is now Hudson County. When in 1682 East Jersey was subdivided into counties, Bergen County meant an inhabited region fronting the Hudson from Bergen Point north to the provincial boundary with New York, and reaching west to the Hackensack River. In 1709, with New Jersey then a royal colony, Bergen County's borders were broadened to include much of what is now Passaic County. From that area, in turn, after New Jersey had become one of the United States, the legislature took some land to form Passaic County in 1837 and Hudson County in 1840. Thus Bergen County attained its present size.[2]

I.

Three centuries ago Bergen County was wilderness country under nominal control of the Dutch West India Company, a private corporation chartered with governmental functions by the Dutch Republic. The Indian occupants were of the Minsee or Munsee sub-tribe of the Lenni-Lenape (meaning "true men" or "original people"), or Delawares, so named from the river near which most of them lived. The Dutch, whose chief interest for many years lay in the acquisition of trade wealth rather than in permanent settlement, were then very few in number. Extensive Dutch settlement in New Jersey did not take place, in fact, until after the English took over.

Historically speaking, the Dutch era began on September 3, 1609, when Henry Hudson anchored his sixty-ton Dutch yacht *de Halve Maen* (the "Half Moon") in Lower New York Bay, and with part of his twenty-man crew spent a week exploring the adjacent region before sailing up the river which now bears his name. Hudson, an Englishman, made the voyage here largely

[1]While the name "Bergen" undoubtedly comes to us from Dutch times, there are no less than four theories explaining the word itself. It may be, as some believe, the name given by pioneers from Bergen in Norway. Again, it may derive from a Dutchman named Bergen. Others think it stems from the Dutch town of Bergen-op-Zoom, which fought off five Spanish sieges in the Dutch War of Liberation. Still others say the Dutch word, *bergen,* meaning hill, was the source. Be that as it may, the name continues to describe this region after nearly 350 years. Holland Society of New York, *Dutch Influences in Early New Jersey History* (pamphlet, New York, 1950), p. 6.

[2]James M. Van Valen, *History of Bergen County* (New York: N.J. Pub. & Engr. Co., 1900), I, 24.

to win a 25,000-guilder reward offered by the Dutch East India Company for finding a new route to the Orient. While his attempt of course failed, Hudson's report of the country's strategic location and potential wealth attracted attention.

Soon after him, in 1614, came the Dutch navigators Adrian Block and Hendrick Christiansen, who explored and traded along the coast from the Delaware to Cape Cod. Unlike Captain John Smith of Jamestown in Virginia, however, they left only a fragmentary record of travels and adventures, but one surely comparable with those of their English contemporary.

Just when the Hollanders settled Bergen is unknown, since records do not survive. Indeed, it is not certain that the pioneers here were of Dutch nationality. Evidence exists that a trading post was set up, possibly by Adrian Block, on the present site of Jersey City about 1618. Some think that Norwegians and Danes who accompanied the Dutch erected at that time the first European settlement in this area.

Alert to every opportunity in that great age of discovery, the Dutch now sought to establish in New Netherland a source of wealth and power for *Patria,* their homeland. Dutchmen explored and traded with the Indians everywhere. Soon, by purchase and otherwise, they brought under Dutch control the immense region lying mainly between the Hudson (or North) and Delaware (South) rivers that now includes New Jersey, New York, western Connecticut, and northern Delaware. In 1626 Peter Minuit bought Manhattan's 22,000 acres from the Indians for sixty guilders' worth of trinkets and on that island, set in its great harbor, grew up the town of New Amsterdam, center of the sovereign Dutch West India Company's trade in North America. Company rule, with few organic changes, continued until the English occupation. The Company representative here charged with governmental powers was called Director General, in which capacity six men served during the Dutch era: Cornelius May (1624-25), William Verhulst (1625-26), Peter Minuit (1626-33), Wouter Van Twiller (1633-38), William Kieft (1638-47), and Peter Stuyvesant (1647-64).[3]

[3]E. B. O'Callaghan, *Register of New Netherland* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1865), p. 9.

It is often thought that seventeenth-century Indians were ousted from their lands by force or fraud, and were seldom if ever compensated. Nothing could be farther from the fact. With the Dutch, the purchase of land was obligatory, as indeed was the practice in New England at that time. Minuit's acquisition of Manhattan was only one of many purchases by the Dutch. That the consideration they paid was insignificant by any other than Indian standards cannot be denied. But complaints were rare, and scrupulous adherence to agreements was the rule rather than the exception. In one case involving land now part of the borough of Garfield, the terms of a conveyance were altered to conform with the wishes of the grantor, an Indian sachem. His objection had been that rum and beer were part of the price.[4]

The Dutch occupancy of New Jersey was distinctly tentative. Nominal title to the region, first in the Dutch East India Company, was in 1621 taken over by the Dutch West India Company.

In 1629 the Company attempted colonization under a "patroon" system. The patroonship device, while it failed here, flourished along the upper reaches of the Hudson near Albany until the nineteenth century. The system involved a grant of land accompanied by manorial rights, including judicial powers, hunting and fishing privileges, and extensive riparian rights. In return for such a grant, the patroon would undertake to transport adult settlers to America, establish them on farms, and provide pastor and school teacher. The colonists, on their part, would agree to cultivate the land for a fixed period, usually ten years, as well as to use the patroon's mill and to give him the first offer for their stock and produce.

A semi-feudal system of this kind, long outmoded in Holland itself, could scarcely thrive in the bracing climate of colonial America, although in practice it was not oppressive and indeed far removed from conditions of serfdom. It proved to be a wholly inadequate means of inducing large numbers of Dutch yeomen and artisans to leave home and start life over in the New World. Dutchmen of that day, unlike the English, French or Walloons,

[4]John Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1899), I, 136; II, 160.

rarely came here as religious or political exiles. Those who emigrated often did so for adventure, and certainly many preferred to come as patroons rather than as tenants.

Two officials of the Dutch West India Company became patroons in East Jersey. One was Michael Pauw, burgher of Amsterdam and lord of Achtienhoven in Holland. Pauw, whose name in Dutch means peacock, secured in 1630 a large tract along the North River including what is now Jersey City, Hoboken, and Staten Island. He called it "Pavonia," a latinized version of his name which survives to this day. Pavonia with its handful of settlers continued a precarious existence some seven years. The project was unprofitable and the Indians were hostile, with the result that Pauw sold out to the company.[5]

Similarly, the grant in 1641 to Myndert Myndertse of Amsterdam failed to attain permanency. Myndertse, who had the title Van der Heer Nedderhorst, patented a large tract west of Newark Bay extending north to Tappan. His military methods, however, inflamed the Indians and proved ineffective for colonization of the region. He soon abandoned the enterprise and returned to Holland. The well-known map of New Netherland, by Van der Donck in 1656, cites the Myndertse lands under the description "colonie van de Heer Neder Horst."

Except for a few families in Pavonia, Communipaw (then Gemonepau, or "village on the shore"), and Bergen, the Dutch had scarely any foothold west of the Hudson before 1640. Director Kieft's Indian war of 1641-45, which both council and settlers opposed, virtually destroyed Indian influence but at the same time checked Dutch expansion. Ten years later, in 1655, the Indians nearly ousted the Dutch altogether when they attacked to avenge a wanton murder and to regain their power. Within five years, however, the Hollanders returned to New Jersey and petitioned Stuyvesant for permission to form a town at Bergen. Fearing for their safety, the Director at first refused but later permitted the town to be organized, provided the settlers build a palisade for protection. This was done and the municipality of Bergen grew

[5]Cornelius B. Harvey, *Genealogical History of Hudson and Bergen Counties* (New York: N.J. Genealogical Pub. Co., 1900), p. 16; Van Valen, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

up on the original thirty-two lots charted by Jacques Cortelyou, surveyor general of New Amsterdam.[6]

During Stuyvesant's time, New Amsterdam, by then a well-knit cosmopolitan center of some 1600 inhabitants, became an incorporated Dutch city. Toward the end of Dutch rule, New Netherland as a whole contained about 10,000 people whose industry in village and farm had created an orderly society from forest wilderness in forty years. By that time, England's colonies on the eastern seaboard, with an estimated 80,000 population north and south of the Dutch, had become incomparably stronger. The days of New Netherland were numbered.[7]

II.

In September, 1664, an English fleet under Colonel Richard Nicolls seized all of New Netherland from the Dutch. King Charles II anticipated the event and, without the formality of declaring war, had granted the entire region to his brother James, Duke of York, who was to become King James II of England in 1685. The Duke in turn granted in common the Jersey lands to his friends, John Lord Berkeley of Stratton and Sir George Carteret, two adherents of the Stuart cause in the Parliamentary Wars of the 1640's.

In this offhand manner was created what became the colony and later the state of New Jersey. The name is from the Channel island of Jersey, home of the Carterets. The two proprietors divided their domain, Carteret taking the northern part (later known as East Jersey) and Berkeley the southern (or West Jersey).

The English commander Nicolls at New Amsterdam, now renamed New York, was unaware of these grants of Jersey lands. Consequently, he sold two large tracts to settlers in transactions which clouded land titles for a hundred years. At about the same time, in 1665, one-man proprietary government came to Bergen and East Jersey that was to last until 1682.

Sir Philip Carteret, distant cousin of the proprietor, brought

[6]Daniel Van Winkle, *Old Bergen* (Jersey City: J. W. Harrison, 1902), p. 53; Holland Society of New York, *Year Book*, 1916, p. 1.

[7]John Romeyn Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of . . . New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1856), I, 567; Fiske, *op. cit.*, I, 274.

here a liberal form of government providing for freedom of conscience and an elective assembly empowered, consistently with the law of England, to tax, erect courts, and provide for the common defense. So that the land would become closely settled, Carteret projected "head right" grants of 60 to 150 acres for a yearly payment of a half-penny quitrent per acre beginning in 1670. These favorable terms brought many Dutch, English, Scotch, French, and Walloon settlers into the region.

Not all the land grants were of small size, however. In 1668 Captain William Sandford and Nathaniel Kingsland patented over 15,000 acres lying between the Hackensack and Passaic rivers in Bergen County. Samuel Edsall and Nicholas Varley bought about 1800 acres north of the town of Bergen. In 1669 John Berry acquired two large tracts in Bergen County. Settlers on this and other lands established family lines which flourish to this day, among them Blauvelts, de Groots, Van Winkles, Bogerts, Demarests, and Zabriskies.[8]

It was a turbulent era, with threats of war or economic and legislative crises plaguing the Carteret regime on many occasions. The first Assembly, in 1668, with two delegates from Bergen, made smooth progress and enacted a criminal code and provincial tax. The next Assembly, however, unable to function because Monmouth delegates feared the oath of office might invalidate their land titles, angrily adjourned and did not re-assemble until 1675. When the quitrents came due in 1670, many colonists found their Indian deeds or Nicolls patents conferred no general exemption from payment. There was a widespread refusal to pay, and in 1672 the settlers tried to oust Philip Carteret from office.

At this point, in 1673, the Dutch conquered and re-occupied New Netherland. However, their occupation was short-lived, the Netherlands ceding back the entire area to England by treaty the next year. This produced another complication in Jersey land titles, because the English Crown lawyers held the conquest had re-vested all territorial rights in the Dutch States General. Trouble was to arise when it became known that the Duke of York's re-grant to Carteret had been unaccompanied by governmental powers.

[8] *Bergen County Panorama,* p. 7, American Guide Series (Hackensack: Works Progress Admin., 1941).

Soon afterward there was a partial solution to the problems incident to ill-defined boundaries separating the Berkeley and Carteret lands. In 1675, Berkeley sold out to John Fenwick in trust for Edward Byllynge. These men, both Quakers although far from meek and mild, quarrelled over their purchase and finally made over the property to William Penn and his associates. Thus, in 1675, Penn acquired that part of New Jersey south of the line running from Barnegat westerly to Rancocas Creek on the Delaware some ten miles above Camden. The separation of the "Jerseys," East and West, became accomplished fact by the so-called "Quintipartite Deed" of July, 1676, which adjusted the boundary as a line running from Little Egg Harbor to the northwestern corner of the province.

Sir Philip Carteret, upon his return to America in November, 1674, after the Dutch interlude, was to enjoy only a short era of good feeling. The East Jersey people now agreed that only those with proprietary patents were to be freeholders entitled to vote and hold office. The settlers began to obtain these deeds and pay the quitrents; the Assembly met on schedule and all seemed well.

But in 1680, dispute with Sir Edmund Andros, royal governor of New York, grew out of the death that year of the original proprietor, Sir George Carteret, and from Andros' refusal to acknowledge the right of Sir Philip Carteret to exercise governmental powers in East Jersey. Andros insisted that ships bound for New Jersey must first enter and clear at the New York Custom House. However, Carteret firmly believed the ducal grant had conferred sovereign powers on his family. Therefore, he defied Andros and declared Elizabeth Town (now Elizabeth) a free port.

The contest became a public scandal when Andros seized Carteret and sat as judge of a special tribunal which tried him for "riotously presuming to exercise unlawful jurisdiction over his Majesty's subjects." Despite Andros' high-handed conduct of the proceedings, however, the jury acquitted Carteret. And when the Duke of York repudiated Andros' actions, the triumph of East Jersey seemed complete. But Carteret's authority had been undermined and he found the Jersey colonists restive. The Assembly questioned his powers, and in 1681 the governor heatedly ordered

its dissolution. The next year, in 1682, Carteret rule ended when the proprietor's widow sold the family interest in East Jersey to a group which became known as the "24 Proprietors."[9]

During the new proprietary regime, which was to last some twenty years, a handful of men came to own great areas as the Board of Proprietors paid liberal dividends to land shareholders from time to time. The result was a distinct stratification in East Jersey society, with the land magnates on one side and small farmers on the other. Their interests clashed on many issues. Constant litigation between the groups over surveys and titles gave rise to widespread discontent.

In 1682, four counties were created for East Jersey: Bergen, Essex, Middlesex, and Monmouth. Modelled after the English system, and thus interposed between town and provincial governments, the counties soon became familiar aids in executive and judicial administration. The judicial system improved when in 1683 the Court of Common Right came into existence along with county courts. Many immigrants entered East Jersey at this time, chiefly English and Scotch.

In 1688, pursuant to King James' grandiose plan to unite the nothern colonies, Sir Edmund Andros added East Jersey to the so-called "Dominion of New England," a device which persisted until 1692. During this period, William of Orange, a direct descendant of the Dutch hero who did so much to liberate Holland from Spain, overthrew the Stuart monarchy in the "Bloodless Revolution" of 1688 and became King William III of England.[10]

Resumption of proprietary control in East Jersey failed to restore order. Disrespect for the courts and other organs of government became evident everywhere; and business languished. As a result, the Board of Trade in England recommended that the entire province be placed under a royal governor. The proprietors finally yielded to the inevitable and in April 1702, during the reign of Queen Anne, New Jersey became a royal colony.

In retrospect, it is clear that proprietary government in East

[9]Richard P. McCormick, "The Province of East Jersey, 1609-1702," *Proceeding of the New Jersey Historical Society,* Vol. 70, p. 81, Apr. 1952; Gordon B. Turner, "Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1763," *Ibid.,* p. 229, Oct. 1952.

[10]Fiske, *op. cit.,* II, 239; McCormick, *op. cit.,* p. 93.

Jersey, both under the Carterets and their successors, was not only unpopular but inefficient. The proprietors were apt to regard their colonial estates merely as sources of revenue. So long as rents and fees came in, they felt little responsibility for events. Further, especially during the multiple proprietorship era, a governor could worry more about an absentee owner's goodwill than the public welfare. Administration suffered from worthless favorites sent out from England for whom the governor had to find jobs paying salaries. Finally, the system lacked royal prestige.

However great its shortcomings, proprietary rule left lasting benefits. The representative Assembly grew into an effective instrument to protect and to advance the public interest. Religious toleration, in an age of intolerance, became largely accomplished fact. People of many nationalities, such as the Dutch, English, French, German, and Scotch, learned to live and work together.

As a royal colony, from 1702 to 1775, New Jersey became a settled area. Towns grew up everywhere; trade and agriculture expanded. The people gradually developed a distinctly American point of view, while continuing their own folk-ways. The royal governors, little better than those of the proprietors, varied in ability from inept Lord Cornbury to the competent Robert Hunter (1710-19) and Francis Bernard (1758-60). For thirty-five years New Jersey was an appendage of New York, with the first nine of eighteen royal governors ruling both colonies from New York.[11]

The era witnessed the Assembly's continuing effort to gain commanding position in government; many attempts to establish an adequate defense system over militant Quaker opposition; and further litigation over land ownership. Throughout its existence as a royal colony, New Jersey always found leaders to denounce executive encroachment, such as proposals to increase the property qualification for voting and holding office, and on the other hand to demand legislative equality in such matters as taxation and judicial administration.

III.

That the Dutch were relatively numerous in this vicinity is ap-

[11]Francis B. Lee, *New Jersey as a Colony and as a State* (New York: Pub. Co of N.J., 1902), I, 389.

parent from a count made nearly twenty years after the Revolution. At that time, in 1790, the inhabitants of Bergen County numbered 12,601, of whom some forty per cent were of Holland origin. Dutch customs of pioneer days have special interest, for more than a few are traceable to religious, educational, and civic practices of the present day.

In Dutch colonial times, as now, church and school were synonymous with civilization. Thus, when the people of Bergen built homes and protective stockade, they erected a public building which served as a church until 1681 and as a schoolhouse for many years more. As early as September, 1662, the Bergen magistrates petitioned Director Stuyvesant for a minister of the Gospel. None could be spared, however, and for a long time Bergen lacked the services of a pastor. Since education then had close ties with the church, it was natural for the people to seek a schoolmaster who could fill both the pulpit on Sundays and the teacher's rostrum on week days.

Before tracing the relationship between church and school, it can be noted that the church in Bergen had only twenty-seven communicants of record in 1664. From then on, this parish, now the Bergen Reformed Church of Jersey City, grew in numbers and influence. For about a century its records were in the Dutch language, and sermons were preached in that tongue both in Bergen and elsewhere until after the Revolution. In 1686 that part of the congregation living in Hackensack organized their own church under Domine Peter Tasschenmacker. The new church is well known today as the First Reformed Church of Hackensack, or the "Church on the Green."[12]

Early Dutch pastors possessed missionary zeal and their activities led to the creation of many churches and colleges. The Hackensack church organized no less than fourteen churches in this area through the devoted efforts of its ministers. One of them, old Paramus Reformed Church, began in 1725 from the ministry of Rev. Reinhart Errickson, who is described as the pastor at Hackensack, Schraalenburgh (Dumont), and "Peremus." Other well-known Bergen County clergy were Rev. Dirk Romeyn, who in 1784 went to Schenectady where he was instru-

[12]First Reformed Church, Hackensack, *260th Anniversary of the Church on the Green* (pamphlet, 1946).

mental in founding Union College in 1795; and Rev. Solomon Froeligh who became a trustee of Queens College, now Rutgers University. The founding of Rutgers in 1766 is largely credited to groundwork laid by another famous Dutch minister, Rev. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen.

The Huguenot church in New Jersey grew out of the Huguenot community founded by David Demarest at New Milford on the Hackensack River in 1677. He had opposed compulsory support of the Dutch church in New York and left the city to settle his family in Bergen County, where he was soon joined by others sympathetic to his views.

An issue important to the Reformed Dutch clergy and their parishioners in colonial times was that of ecclesiastical freedom from Holland. The *Coetus* party advocated independence. Their opponents, the *Conferentie* group, insisted upon continued allegiance to the Classis of Amsterdam. With the impetus given by Rev. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, the progressive Coetus viewpoint at length prevailed. An independent Reformed Dutch Church in America thus came into being, and has flourished ever since.

During the Dutch regime and for many years afterward, marriages were mostly church-performed and these required the publication of banns for three consecutive Sundays before the congregation, with no objection raised. Young couples often had the banns published in one place and the ceremony performed elsewhere, on the basis of a duly executed certificate of publication. In Bergen, for example, the records show many marriages of people from such distant localities as Hackensack, Acquackanock (Passaic), New York, Long Island, and Albany. Similarly, Bergen residents were married in Brooklyn, Staten Island, and other places. The church official performing the ceremony would notify each couple's home church. As a result, the old records of marriages, and those for baptisms and burials, are remarkably complete.

Dutch burial customs were identical with those in Holland. The man in charge was the *aanspreker,* or undertaker and sexton. Notified of a need for his services, the aanspreker went to the *sterfhuis* (house of the decedent). There he listed those invited

as mourners or bearers at the funeral, and made all the arrangements. If the deceased was prominent, the aanspreker announced the event from house to house, and asked his brethren for help if the list was too long. He wore a long flowing black cape and a white cravat or bands, and also white or black gloves according to the decedent's sex. From one side of his *steek,* or hat, hung a length of black crepe and on the other was a rosette denoting whether the departed was married or single. The aanspreker organized the cortege, officiated at the interment, and partook of customary refreshments at the sterfhuis before and after the event.[13]

The historically close connection between Dutch church and education, already adverted to, was nowhere more evident than in Bergen. The Dutch settlers revered their ministers, who were indoctrinated with the vital importance of elementary education. The clergy believed and taught that every individual had an ultimate responsibility for his salvation. Men and women had to read the Scriptures as the law of life without priestly intervention. Ministers thus demanded literacy of their parishioners and, when necessary, gave the instruction themselves. Schools were in any event considered essential, and in Bergen the first of these was speedily established.

The Bergen charter authorized the local court to take steps "relative to the building of churches, schools and other similar public works, as well as the means from which and in what manner these shall be regulated." The Bergen magistrates employed Jan Tibout as court clerk, an office often joined with that of teacher. Tibout was also the *precentor,* or church functionary, and afterward taught school in Flatbush, Harlem, and Bushwick, so that he appears to have been the first schoolmaster in Bergen.

When Tibout left, the magistrates asked Stuyvesant to nominate a "precentor who could also keep school for the instruction and education of our young children." "Precentor" in Latin means vocal instructor; to the Dutch it had churchly connotations, stemming from its translation into that language as *voorsanger,* or one who led the singing in church services. The

[13]D. Versteeg, *Early History of the Bergen Reformed Dutch Church* (pamphlet, New York, 1889).

voorsanger's duties usually included that of the *voorlezer,* who read from the Bible during services and kept parish records. One acting as voorlezer and voorsanger was almost invariably the schoolmaster.

Stuyvesant and his Council in New Amsterdam proposed Engelbert Steenhuysen for the office. Steenhuysen was found acceptable and was duly installed at a salary of 250 guilders in wampum per year and other emoluments. During his term in Bergen, Steenhuysen disputed his liability to taxation. He claimed immunity on the ground that, by custom, schoolmasters were exempt from taxes "everywhere in Christendom." How the matter ended is not clear, since the record states only that he had to "serve the rest of the term according to contract." That Steenhuysen was a Dutchman of parts further appears from the fact that he represented Bergen in the first Provincial Assembly at Elizabeth in 1668. He died in 1678 and was interred with ceremony in the Bergen cemetery.

His successor in Bergen was Reynier Bastianse Van Giesen, who took the oath of allegiance in 1665. Van Giesen served as schoolmaster and voorlezer for forty-two years. He died in 1707 and was buried on May 15th of that year. A village school, such as the one Van Giesen conducted, followed the parish school pattern in Holland. It was open alike to boys and girls, and gave instruction in reading, writing and religion. Control was exercised jointly by church and civil authority. The New Amsterdam Classis of the Reformed Dutch church examined and certified a teacher's fitness. Support of the Dutch schools came, not from taxation, but from tuition, entrance fees, gifts, free lodging, church funds, and town treasuries. In several cases the Dutch teacher received part of a general tax. Only one instance has been found of direct taxation to raise a schoolmaster's pay; this was in Bergen in 1674.[14]

Dutch efforts to continue elementary schools under church and civil control did not survive the English occupation to any appreciable extent. The new administration had a more aristocratic concept of education, and tended to stress the endowed

[14]William H. Kilpatrick, *Dutch Schools in New Netherland,* p. 119 (Washington: U.S. Bureau of Education, 1912).

Latin grammar schools and institutions of higher learning. Even so, the Dutch and their descendants remained education-conscious, and their language was long used at home and even in the schools.

Colonial charters often stressed free education, but not until the middle nineteenth century was this purpose attained in New Jersey. The Carteret charter of 1668 authorized Bergen freeholders to choose and support a minister, and to set aside land for church and school free from rent or taxes. A remarkable example of the concern for education in that time appears from an act of the East Jersey General Assembly in 1693:

> Whereas the cultivating of learning and good manners [the document reads] tends greatly to the good and benefit of mankind, which hath hitherto been much neglected within the Province, Be It Therefore Enacted by the Governor, Council and Deputies in General Assembly now met and assembled, and by authority of the same, that the inhabitants of any town within the Province shall and may by warrant from a Justice of the Peace of that county, when they think fit and convenient, meet together to make choice of three or more men of the said town, to make a rate for the salary and maintaining of a schoolmaster within the said town, for so long time as they think fit; and the consent and agreement of the major part of the inhabitants of the said town shall bind and oblige the remaining part of the inhabitants of the said town to satisfy and pay their shares and proportions of the said rate; and in case of refusal or non-payment, distress to be made upon the goods and chattels of such person or persons so refusing or not paying, &c.[15]

The first school within the present limits of Bergen County is believed to have been built at Paramus near the old Reformed church in 1730. An early school was set up on the site of Washington Academy in Hackensack about 1767, and another at New Bridge; both were private schools.

Dutch names in this area focus attention upon the fact that the early Dutch settlers hardly ever had surnames, in our sense of the word. This was due to centuries-old custom of Holland which persisted until the eighteenth century. The practice created many serious problems for latter-day genealogists in tracing lines of descent. For example, in that day a boy received a Christian name when baptized and also the patronymic, or father name, to which

[15]Cited at Lee, *op. cit.*, I, 352.

was added the Dutch expression *zoon, se,* or *sen,* meaning son. Thus, if a child was baptized Dirck, and his father's baptismal name was Joris, he would be called Dirck Jorissen. In turn, his son, if baptized Jan, would become Jan Dircksen; and if Jan's son were Willem, his name would be Willem Jansen (or Janse, or Janszoon). Consequently, succeeding generations would reflect a variety of names from which the fact of lineal descent, in the absence of records, might be difficult to trace. Dutch families were large and relationships, even in the family Bible, often became confused. Identities also suffered from variations due to phonetic or fanciful spelling then prevalent.

To some extent the Dutch avoided confusion by adding a geographical name or other description to baptismal name and patronymic. This is still widely evident among those of Dutch descent in Bergen County. It involved such prefixes as *Van, Vander, Ten, Ter,* and *Op,* meaning "from," "from (or at) the," "near the," or "on the." Thus, the name Jacob Wallingsen Van Winkle means Jacob, son of Walling from the village of Winkel near Hoorn in North Holland. This method served to identify a great many families, such as the Van Inwegens (from Nymwegen in Gelderland) and Van Ettens (from Etten in Brabant). Sometimes the Van was dropped, as with the Westervelts from Drenthe. Or, instead of a town, the Dutch would attach an occupation (such as Brouwer, meaning "brewer"), or topographic feature (such as Blauvelt for "blue field," or Ten Eyck for "at the oak"), or nearness to some place or thing (such as Voorhees meaning "before or near the town of Hees," or Opdyke for "on the dike," or Terhune, said to mean for "near the *hunebeds*" or ancient monuments in Drenthe.)[16]

A prolific people, many of the Dutch settlers had very large families. Michael Jansen Vreeland, a pioneer in Bergen, had six sons and two daughters. Family records show the birth of no less than sixty-three grandchildren among the sons. Since the daughters no doubt did their share, it is believed that about seventy-five grandchildren perpetuated the founder of the Vree-

[16]Frances A. Westervelt, *History of Bergen County* (New York: Lewis Historical Pub. Co., 1923) I, 95; *New Netherland Register,* I, No. 8, p. 133 (D. Versteeg, New York, 1913).

land family in America. Simon Van Winkle, who died in 1732, left twelve boys and girls, and one of these had twenty children, of whom thirteen survived their father. Simon is said to have started to carve his children's initials on the doorpost, but ran out of space and had to use the doorstep to complete his list. Other examples of large families are those of Cornelius Van Vorst, who had nineteen children, Caspar Cadmus with twelve, and Dirck Van Rypen with eleven.[17]

Even so, Dutch women often outlived their husbands and upon remarriage started other families. Few equalled the matrimonial record of Geertje Nannincks of New Amsterdam, however, who in thirty years survived four husbands and lived to marry her fifth. The women wove all materials the family needed for clothing, sometimes worked in the fields, and besides preparing ample meals kept their homes spotlessly clean. The status of females in New Netherland, both in the home, in school, and at law, was in all important respects equal to that of males. Women could own property, inherit and transact business freely. Dutchmen often executed powers of attorney to their wives, with confidence that when they were away their business affairs would be skillfully managed. Sarah Kierstede, wife of New Amsterdam Surgeon Hans Kierstede, served as official interpreter in negotiating many Indian treaties, one the conveyance whereby Oratam, chief of the Hackensacks, transferred thousands of acres in Bergen County. In 1669, two years after Oratam's death, the Indians gave Sarah 2200 acres near Overpeck Creek in recognition of her skill as interpreter.[18]

The law in Bergen was administered by officials with typically Dutch titles. In 1661 a *schout* (office with duties of sheriff, clerk, or presiding officer) was appointed to act with the *schepens* (magistrates or councilmen) in governing the town. Soon afterward the Bergen schout and schepens became a civil and criminal court of limited jurisdiction, from whose decisions appeals could be taken to Director Stuyvesant and his Council in New Amsterdam.

[17]Westervelt, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Holland Society of New York, *Year Book*, 1915, p. 6.
[18]Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, *History of the City of New York* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), I, 479.

The schout in Bergen was Tielman Van Vleck, who was admitted as attorney in 1660, and the schepens were Michael Jansen Vreeland, Harman Smeeman, and Caspar Steynmets. In the present area of Bergen County the first peace magistrate was Albert Zabriskie, of near Paramus, who was commissioned in 1682. The Dutch colonial magistracy, while not as a rule trained in the law, understood legal principles and the commercial customs of Holland. They disposed of ordinary disputes capably, and in complex problems demonstrated uncommon sense and an innate sense of justice. Of the Dutch magistrates the historian and jurist Daly has written:

> It is impossible not to be struck with the comprehensive knowledge they displayed of the principles of jurisprudence, and with the directness and simplicity with which legal investigations were conducted. In fact, as a means of ascertaining truth, and of doing substantial justice, their mode of proceeding was infinitely superior to the more technical and artificial system introduced by their English successors.[19]

Early settlers in Bergen County had little need for doctors. The Dutch were of sturdy stock and inured to hardship. Many attained ripe ages, among them Albert Zabriskie, who died in 1711 near Paramus when about seventy-three years old. The climate was healthful. Van der Donck in his *Description of New Netherland* (1655) observed that the local Galens had only "meager beer." The availability of medical help from nearby Newark, New York, and Elizabeth, also accounts for the few physicians in this vicinity. Medical men in those centers did not have many patients, so that the majority of practitioners followed one or more other callings, such as the ministry, teaching, or farming. Probably the earliest doctor in Bergen was Dr. Van Emburgh, "doctor of physicke," whose widow in 1709 acquired 450 acres near Hackensack.[20]

The Dutch design of dwelling houses corresponded with traits of the occupants, and thus provided for health, simplicity, and economy. The houses were often built of blocks cut and dressed

[19]Charles P. Daly, "State of Jurisprudence During the Dutch Period," *History of the Bench and Bar of New York* (New York: History Co., 1897), Chapter I.

[20]For a review of Dutch colonial medical practices, see *de Halve Maen* (Holland Soc. quarterly), Vol. 31, No. 4, p. 7, Jan. 1957.

from the red sandstone then abundant in the area, although shingle and clapboarding in combination with stone work were common, and sometimes brick and ironwork as well. Fireplaces were designed to allow the entire family to be seated around the fire and, from the size of many families, were often large. Decorated with Dutch tiles and biblical scenes, the houses were mostly of one-story low-ceiling type, with storage or sleeping space above on flooring of wide boards secured to heavy beams.

A dominant feature of Dutch houses here was the sweeping roofline, with eaves projecting over front and rear walls by several feet. Many of those extremely well built houses have been continuously occupied in Bergen County down to the present day.[21]

While slavery was then a southern institution, it was uncommon among the Dutch in this vicinity. During the proprietary period, a seventy-five-acre bounty for each slave brought into the area encouraged the practice. Those in bondage here, relatively few in number, worked in the sandstone quarries and on farms. One of them discovered copper on Arent Schuyler's property in Bergen County that was profitably mined during the eighteenth century.

Bergen County's military history began soon after the founding of New Netherland. In general the Dutch followed a policy of friendly relations with the Indians, through amicable trading and land purchases. In frontier days, however, the danger of violence and even open warfare was always present. The Indian reaction to ill treatment, or encroachment on hunting grounds, or aberrant Dutch policy could lead to warfare at any time, as indeed happened in 1641 and 1655 and in which the Dutch people in New Jersey suffered heavily. Disputes with other colonies were a constant threat to security, but produced only small-war with the Swedes and diplomatic bickering with the English up to 1664.

As a result, the Dutch settlers were vigilant, armed, and ready for any eventuality. Examples of Dutch preparedness are observ-

[21]Rosalie F. Bailey, *Pre-Revolutionary Dutch Houses in Northern New Jersey and Southern New York* (New York: Holland Soc., 1936), p. 266.

able in the palisade built across Manhattan Island (now Wall Street) and fortifications in several localities. Designed to repel Indians and hostile colonial attacks, these defenses proved inadequate to meet full-scale invasion by the English in 1664. In a Dutch organization of citizen soldiers called the Burgher Guard of New Amsterdam may be found the origin of the present National Guard and Reserve formations.[22]

The Indians in Bergen County had commercial dealings with the Dutch from the start. They exchanged peltries of beaver, otter, mink and marten for trade goods such as beads, cloth, tools, and pipes. The Dutch administration regulated this trade and prohibited the sale of firearms and liquor (both of which the Indians found hard to handle), although traders undoubtedly evaded these rules on many occasions. The fur trade produced no serious change in Indian life until the close of the seventeenth century. From then on, with the expansion of towns and farms, the red men gradually moved westward. The exodus began when a party of Minsi left in 1690, followed by other Delawares who settled first along the Susquehanna and later in Ohio. Their last appearance as a group in New Jersey was before the legislature in 1832. Remnants of the tribe live today in Oklahoma and Canada.

While the Indians did business largely through barter, they had a medium of exchange known as *wampum* or *seawan* which was legal tender among Jersey settlers for many years. The Dutch had their own coinage of guilders (or florins) and stivers, and the English their pounds, shillings, and pence. However, hard money was scarce, so that the Indian currency gained immediate acceptance. Beaver skins also came to be a medium of exchange, having a value of about eight guilders or $1.60 apiece. Wampum was mostly either black or white in color, with the black having about double the value of the white. Wampum rates of exchange fluctuated widely, although the value of beaver skins remained relatively stable. The white traders, who already profited from Indian eagerness to exchange valuable furs for gewgaws, made still more profit from setting up their own mints

[22]*Chronicle of the Burgher Guard* (New York: Holland Soc., 1956), p. 15.

to manufacture wampum. Best known of the wampum factories in Bergen County was that which John Campbell established at Pascak in the eighteenth century.[28]

IV.

The foregoing outline suggests several conclusions. Coming from a country in area little more than a sandbank on the North Sea, the Dutch established here institutions which had made their homeland preeminent in Europe. Wherever Hollanders settled, they set up churches and schools, and forms of government remarkably liberal for that day and age. Their influence after the English occupation of this area, though perhaps less than in New York, is evident throughout New Jersey's early history under the proprietors and royal governors.

Dutch religious and educational ideals, which permeated colonial society, have come down to our day. While their language and customs have largely disappeared, Dutch ideas and principles are, like their houses, very much part of the American scene. From the beginning they stressed good citizenship, liberal local government, legal equality for women, and the importance of the individual.

In pre-Revolutionary times the Dutch in Bergen County, a numerous and powerful element, contributed greatly to its orderly development. To review their life here in this day is, after all, to acknowledge the debt which our county, state and nation owe to the Dutch.

[28] For excellent account of Indian life see Dorothy Lane, "The Indians of New Jersey," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Vol. 70, p. 1, Jan. 1952.

Artie's Newark: Memories of the 1880's

ARTHUR B. PRICE

Here is another piece of "Artie's Newark." The first selection of these amusing and informative reminiscences, appearing in a recent issue of the PROCEEDINGS, *drew uniformly favorable comment. Mr. Price, from his Maine retreat, promises other chapters from his book-length memoirs.*

NEWARK THEATRES

At the age of ten, Artie was a regular patron of the Grand Opera House. This was inevitable because the Grand Opera House was but a block away from his home. Despite the dignity of its name, it was an old, unpainted, yellowish-brown, turtle-backed wooden building, the "turtle-back" part alone distinguishing it from a continuing structure, a paper-box factory, which took up the rest of the block.

To lure audiences to the Grand Opera House, a band of musicians, clad in seedy red coats and faded blue trousers, would parade Broad Street, followed by the ragtag and bobtail of the town, Artie included. Before a performance this band played in front of the theater, again Artie and his pals fringing it, dazzled by the brass horns glittering in the gaslight, delightedly listening to the "music." When it was time for the show to begin, the band out front would become the "orchestra" inside.

The best people of the town came to the Grand Opera House for amusement, the reason being that there was no other place to go. Front, iron-framed, thinly-leather-covered orchestra seats cost fifty cents, the rear seats thirty cents. To the gallery, where Artie sat, the admission was ten cents.

The gallery was entered from a side door, a rough crowd, always of men and boys, jostling in front of it, watching the

elite pass into the main entrance, impatient for the gallery door to open. The squirming line was kept in order by officer Tim Casey, wielding a blacksnake whip. When the door did open the scramble was like the bursting of a dam. Up the rickety, highly-inflammable wooden stairs the none-too-sweet-smelling rabble stampeded. Everyone wanted a seat on the front bench. Too many crowding it, inevitably some one would be pushed off and a fight would be started. Big Tim was right there to quell it with a "none of that, byes, none of that. Stop yer fitin' or I'll give ye a taste of this." Tim's whip effectually quieted trouble. Before the play, the gallery was bedlam: when the curtain rolled up, it occupants were as still as mice.

The anything-but-fireproof curtain itself furnished entertainment to the waiting audience. It pictured a predominantly yellow world in which were a castle, a pavilion, a fountain and pool, garden and trees. In the garden walked elegantly-clad lords and ladies and in the pool other ladies were bathing, as undraped as the times would allow. A much-worn hole in the castle wall quite obviously was a peep hole through which the actors got a view of the audience. At the "ting-ting" of a bell, the curtain with its romantic world rolled up, the stage now absorbing the audience to the exclusion of their everyday lives.

From the wings came out two enormously fat men. "The Two Johns" the action was called. They continually bumped into each other. That each was pillow-stuffed was wholly obvious to the audience but oh how it laughed! It laughed, and laughed and laughed.

Hearne's "Hearts of Oak" was a play that made Artie sad.

Michael Strogoff thrilled Artie from start to finish. Inside a window a British war correspondent was working a telegraph key which an American correspondent very much wanted to obtain. From mid-stage the American bellowed: "I sit down on Johnny Bull." The Englishman rushed out exclaiming: "Who sits down on Johnny Bull?" The American got the telegraph key. Artie and the whole house thought this was rich and clapped to show it.

Casper the Yodler was a perennial favorite. There was weeping

in the audience when Casper sang: "Sunshine Will Come Again."

"Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde" was too grisly for Artie and he left before the performance concluded.

Artie explored the back-stage of the Grand Opera House, sneaking in the Marshall Street stage door when no one was around. He found the strangeness of the canvas scenery, the mysterious passages between, the dim light, the damp smell, the darkness of the auditorium a fascinating adventure.

When Miner's Theatre opened, the Grand Opera House went into eclipse. At Miner's there were electric lights instead of gas lights, plush seats instead of hard leather ones, and it had boxes. To Newarkers of the 1880's it was the last thing in elegance. To reach his seat in the "peanut gallery," Artie had to go down a back alley and climb endless outside iron stairs, He paid twenty-five cents for admission but now he had an individual seat. For the first time he saw Shakespearian plays, and became acquainted with the Gilbert and Sullivan comic operas. He saw at Miner's what then were considered lavishly-staged melodramas. One, "The White Slave," lingers most vividly in his memory. So popular was this play that it came to Newark season after season. Miss Edna Carey was the White Slave, a well-known actress in her time.

The scene was night on the bank of a river of *real* water. Distant lights made the spot more lonely. The heroine stood there, afraid. Out of the darkness came the villain. The beautiful girl shrieked for help but nevertheless was thrown into the water with a loud splash. The hero appeared, dived into the "river" and brought his dripping sweetheart to the footlights amid loud and prolonged applause.

Miss Carey boarded in Mother's back parlor. She sat next to Artie at the supper table, consuming baked beans with as much relish as he did. He felt there was something wrong somewhere. How could a girl who was to be a heroine in a few hours eat his Mother's baked beans?

Waldman's Theatre at Market and Halsey streets, devoted to "leg shows," was anathema to Artie's mother. Again and again

she told her son: "Don't let me catch you going to Waldman's or I'll skin you alive." Artie made allowance for his mother's over-statement of "skinning" him, but just the same she impressed him so with the iniquity of Waldman's that he even would avert his eyes in passing a Waldman billboard. Inevitably came the time when Artie's curiosity as to what he might see at a Waldman show got the best of him. He and his chum took boyish delight in doing a forbidden thing and went to a Waldman matinee. The show was "The Night Owls." The curtain rolled up and on the stage was a line of more or less elderly females in low-cut bodices, their legs encased in soiled and wrinkled pink tights, crooking their knees to music as they marched back and forth across the stage. So this was the forbidden Waldman show! Artie and his chum quickly had enough of it. They crossed the street to Walsh's Ice Cream Parlor where they found entertainment vastly more to their liking, the biggest ten-cent plate of ice cream in the city!

The Pollution Problem of the Passaic River

DANIEL JACOBSON

Readers of the Proceedings *will remember another article by Dr. Jacobson, published several years ago, which dealt with the establishment of Newark. The author, a geographer by training and profession, is a member of the faculty, Montclair State Teachers College.*

In 1878, Croes and Howell, engineers, in their comprehensive "Report on Additional Water Supply" pointed out the chief sources of pollution on the lower Passaic River.[1] Nine years later the river was being condemned "on account of its demonstrable contamination by filth and refuse of every description."[2] Twenty-five tons of sewage were known to flow past the sewers at Paterson each day. Cholera, malaria and typhoid were attributed to the contaminated river. Brew masters and sugar refiners complained that the Passaic was entirely responsible for the diminishing quality of their products.

Down river at the Jersey City and Newark intakes, sewage and sea salt, evidently carried upstream by the strong tide, were polluting the city water supplies. Fears had been expressed for years concerning the prosperity of the entire lower valley. A view of 1882 is typical, " . . . in a very few years, certainly within five years, the water will not be fit for human beings to drink. Those who have the means will leave us, and there will none come to take their places . . . "[3]

During the time of the clamor the Passaic River journeyed

[1]J. R. Croes and George W. Howell, *Report of Additional Water Supply* (Newark, Newark Aqueduct Board, 1879), p. 41.

[2]Quotation is from the extremely valuable *Shall We Continue to Use the Sewage Polluted Passaic; or Shall We Get Pure Water?* (Jersey City, 1887), p. 16. Hereafter cited *Sewage Polluted Passaic.*

[3]Statement made by Andrew Clerk, Esq., before the New Jersey Senate Commissioner debating the proposal for building a dam across the Passaic River near Belleville, Feb. 21, 1882. Quotation is from *The Proposed Dam across the Passaic River* (Newark, 1882), p. 13.

83½ miles from near Mendham to the sea.[4] Subject at times to flood, near drought and marked seasonal fluctuations, the Passaic was in normal years a smooth even-flowing stream. Its gentle course through Hatfield Swamp and Great Piece Meadow, however, was sharply interrupted by the trap ridge at Little Falls where the river dropped nearly forty feet in three-quarters of a mile; at Paterson a more spectacular drop occurred when the river — already remarkably changed by the hand of man — plunged a sheer seventy feet over another reef of trap in the gap at First Mountain.

Awed by the grandeur of the falling water the aborigines had referred to the falls as *Totowa,* "to sink or to be forced down beneath the water by weight."[5] The white settlers simply called the spectacle the Great Falls of the Passaic. From the falls southward the river flowed swiftly over Dundee Dam to meet the backwash of the incoming tide near Passaic. A marked decrease in rate of flow was noted when the river encountered the "almost continuous thicket," "the vigorous water-weeds"[6] between Belleville and Newark. Moving quietly the Passaic wound its way through the salt marsh into Newark Bay.

Surveying possible sites for the location of America's first large-scale industrial enterprise, Alexander Hamilton and the "Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures," chartered by the state of New Jersey November 22, 1791, could hardly overlook the advantages at Great Falls: the easily accessible high-grade iron ores, the forests of the nearby hills, the proximity of the New York market, the clear soft water above the falls and, above all, the possibilities for harnessing the power of the great waterfall itself.[7]

. . . these falls were ascertained to have an elevation above tide of 104 feet,

[4]An excellent account of the Passaic River and its topographical and geological situation can be found in the Geologic Atlas of the United States, Passaic Folio, *U.S. Geol. Surv.,* Washington, D.C., 1908. See C. C. Vermeule, *Report on Water Supply,* Geol. Surv. of N.J., Trenton, 1894, pp. 150-51, for a concise account of the Passaic and its topographical situation.

[5]*The Visitor's Guide to Passaic Falls* (Van Derhoven, Irish and Co., 1859), p. 9.

[6]Quotations are from H. Wurtz, et al., *Reports to the Joint Commission on the Water Supply of the Cities of Newark and Jersey City* (Jersey City, 1873), p. 16.

[7]L. R. Trumbull, *A History of Industrial Paterson* (Paterson, 1882), p. 31.

and were calculated to be capable, by their elevation and the volume of water, of driving 247 undershot water wheels; and at Little Falls, four miles higher up . . . 78 water wheels—that this river was navigable for 30 miles above the falls, with boats drawing 5 feet to Chatham, and beyond with a few locks 50 miles.[8]

Bids from other communities[9] were quickly discounted when the Society was assured that natural reservoirs in the watershed would provide adequate volume during slack water seasons. The Society took "power over and possession of the waters of the Passaic, not only as water power, but as corporate owners of the same, giving them the sole possession for the purpose, both of mills and manufacturing to be established at the Great falls, and for navigation and feeding of canals leading to and from this principal seat thereof . . . "[10]

On July 4, 1792, appropriations were provided for the building of factories, mill sites, and raceways at Paterson. In 1794 the first water from the Passaic was used to spin cotton yarn. In the same year a printing house was established and attention was paid the silk worm. And although factory failures were noted between 1796 and 1814, Paterson's industries continued to multiply.[11] The Reverend Dr. Fisher could report 6,236 inhabitants, seven houses of worship, seventeen schools, a philosophical society, fifteen cotton factories with 24,000 spindles, four turning and bobbin factories, machine shops, iron works, a saw mill and flax factory at the Great Falls site in 1832.[12] In 1838 a new dam, "4½ feet high, strongly framed and bolted to the rock in the bed of the river above the falls,"[13] was constructed to provide more power for manufacturing. The following year the silk industry, which was later to make Paterson world famous as the "Lyons of America," had its inauspicious beginnings.[14]

[8]*Report on the Origin and Increases of the Paterson Manufactories and the Intended Diversion of their Waters by the Morris Canal Company* (Paterson, 1828), pp. 7-8. Hereafter cited *Increase of the Paterson Manufactories.*

[9]Bids were also received from the West Jersey Associates, South River, Perth Amboy, Millstone, Bull's Falls and Little Falls. See Thomas F. Gordon, *Gazetteer of the State of New Jersey* (Trenton, 1834), p. 206.

[10]*Increase of the Paterson Manufactories,* p. 8.

[11]*Visitor's Guide to Passaic Falls,* p. 6.

[12]*Increase of the Paterson Manufactories,* p. 10, and Gordon, *op. cit.,* p. 208.

[13]Gordon, *op. cit.,* p. 207.

[14]The growth and development of the Paterson industrial complex is well described in a series of articles entitled "The Manufactures of Paterson, N.J.," *Scientific American,* Vol. I, New Series, 1859, pp. 282-83, 298-99, 314-15, 330-31.

Thus was inaugurated the industrial complex at the Great Falls which was later to bring cries of dismay from the communities down river. Paterson and towns nearby were discharging industrial wastes and sewage into the Passaic.

For more than a century following its origins, Newark had derived its potable water from two local sources: a number of wells distributed through the town and a series of springs which tumbled freely from the nearby hills.[15] At the turn of the nineteenth century, these sources were still in use, and the Newark Aqueduct Company, formed in 1800, was providing the town with water.[16] Thirty-three years later Gordon could report that Newark "is abundantly supplied with wholesome water . . . from a fine and steady spring, about a mile distant; and seven miles of iron pipes have already been laid for the accommodation of the inhabitants . . . "[17]

But like the city at the Great Falls, Newark was experiencing a phenomenal growth. Between 1830 and 1833 the population leaped from 10,953 to nearly 15,000[18]—an increase in excess of the growth experienced during the entire previous decade. One hundred nine new dwellings rose in the town in 1832—the year of the cholera[19]—and as many in 1833.[20] Eighteen shoe factories, ten carriage plants, nine hat factories, thirteen tanneries, as well as soap and candle plants, iron and brass foundries, sawmills, breweries and dyeing establishments dominated the landscape. Three hundred fifty tailors were preparing garments for the local and southern markets. Watches, locks, guns, whips, plows and pumps were being manufactured and twenty-five boats were in operation on the recently-completed Morris Canal. Pumps were maintained, cisterns built, the first reservoir completed, and cast iron pipe substituted for wooden conduit—but the problem of procuring for the town an adequate water supply had not been solved.

[15]Leo P. Carlin, *Water Supply of Newark, N.J.* (Newark, 1949), p. 1.

[16]*Ibid.*

[17]Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 189.

[19]John S. Darcy, M.D., *Notices of the Cholera at Newark, in 1832.* See Darcy's letter to Dr. Alexander A. Stevens, Dec. 22, 1848, in *Trans. of the Med. Soc. of the State of N.Y.*, Albany, Feb. 5, 1850, pp. 181-82.

[20]The burden of describing the Newark of 1833 falls upon Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-91.

When population continued to mount—it increased more than 24,000 between 1840 and 1850—the water chemists turned to the river. An analysis in 1851 "showed that the Passaic water for washing purposes is not inferior to the well water, with which it is compared, and which is considered a *soft water,* fit for every kind of family use."[21] The analysis also indicated "the Passaic water to be inferior to the best and superior to some in good repute."[22] Jersey City, which had long secured water from wells decided on the basis of the analysis to derive her water from the river. Passaic River water arrived in the cisterns at Jersey City in 1854. Meanwhile, Newark's population had swelled to over 75,000. It was becoming increasingly clear that spring, well and reservoir were no longer adequate for the task. On September 11, 1860 it was resolved "that the Engineer be directed to make preliminary examinations and surveys of localities, etc., with reference to procuring an increased supply of water for the city . . ."[23]

Every possible source—the springs of the neighboring Watchungs, Second and Third rivers, distant Green Pond, Greenwood Lake, Lake Hopatcong, the Morris Canal and the Passaic River—was explored for an available water supply. Newark must think in long-range terms—she must plan for 15,000,000 gallons of water daily—supplied by gravity if possible—to provide for a population of 243,000 expected in 1890.[24] All sources save the Morris Canal and Passaic River were quickly abandoned. Distances were too great, the volume of water insufficient, the erection of works and compensation of landowners too expensive, the country too rough. Dr. Chilton, speaking of the possible impurities of the Passaic River and Morris Canal water could state: "The proportion to the gallon being so small renders either of them all that could be desired for drinking and other domestic purposes."[25]

[21]The water sample was taken at high tide four miles north of Newark in October, 1851, by Professor E. N. Horsford. See George H. Cook, *Geology of New Jersey* (Newark, 1868), pp. 702-03.

[22]*Ibid.,* p. 703.

[23]George H. Bailey, *Report to the Newark Aqueduct Board upon the Subject of a Supply of Water for the City of Newark* (Newark, 1861), p. 3. Hereafter cited *Report, 1861.*

[24]*Ibid.,* pp. 9-10.

[25]*Ibid.,* p. 23.

George H. Bailey, city engineer, in his report to the Newark Aqueduct Board,[26] January 31, 1861, recommended that water be drawn from the Passaic just north of the bar near Second River.[27] No point south of the bar was considered safe since Second River was already pouring industrial wastes into the Passaic and waters south of the bar were known to be brackish.[28] Unfortunately, plans for the construction of settling and filtering reservoirs, brick conduits and the purchase of steam engines had to be deferred due to the outbreak of the Civil War, when Newarkers had once more to rely upon springs, a reservoir in Branch Brook Basin, the Branch Brook itself and the Morris Canal.[29]

It was not until the fall of 1866 that the Aqueduct Board felt free to proceed with the construction of the new works. An 1800-foot front was secured on the east side of the river near Belleville, just north of the Jersey City Intake. In the fall of 1868, two filter basins with a protective rock wall running along the river were completed.[30] Newark was prepared in 1870 to receive its first potable water from the Passaic.[31]

Reports from the north, however, were not encouraging. The water during midsummer of 1872 was "highly offensive to both smell and taste; was turbid from the presence of great numbers of microscopic vegetable and animal organisms, and revealed, when proper tests were applied, a shocking degree of contamination by organic matter."[32] In the summer of 1873, Professor Wurtz "was struck with the filthy appearance of the water in the town of Passaic, and the large amounts of effete dyestuffs there cast into the river."[33] Farther south he noted "that the stream was actually blackened, and the stain continued apparent for more than a mile . . . even below the point at which the

[26]The Newark Aqueduct Board had been created on March 20, 1860, by an act of the state legislature. See George H. Bailey, *Report of the Newark Aqueduct Board*, Newark, 1871, p. 3. Hereafter cited *Report, 1871*.

[27]*Report, 1861*, p. 43.

[28]*Ibid.*, p. 24.

[29]*Report, 1871*, pp. 4-5.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 6. The walls were made of stone cut from the Belleville quarries.

[31]Unfortunately the higher parts of the city could not be reached by gravity flow. Houses above High Street and in the upper stories on Broad Street could not be supplied. See *Report, 1871*, pp. 11, 13.

[32]Statement of Professor Leeds, cited in *Sewage Polluted Passaic*, p. 14.

[33]Joint Commission, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

coloring matter had apparently precipitated, and the stream had become clear, the water had a distinct smell and taste of gas-tar, and fibres of tar were even occasionally seen floating thereon."[34] Wurtz ascertained that the guilt could be fixed on the towns to the north. Paterson and Passaic were discharging their wastes into the river.

At Newark in the same year, Bailey could report that "the traces of sewage contamination are comparatively slight."[35] He could point to the law of purification "which establishes that rivers, by their rapid motion, and by being exposed during a long course to the action of the sun and air, are constantly throwing off the impurities from the water . . . "[36] The Passaic's sewage had been neutralized apparently by the sixteen-mile open-air passage between Paterson and Newark. Bailey was wise enough to submit, however, that the sewage from an ever-growing Paterson constituted a potential threat to the Newark water supply. At the same time he recommended that Newark construct a dam across the Passaic so that the city's sewage, normally discharged into the river and swept upstream by the tide, would not penetrate to the Newark and Jersey City intakes.[37] And while he could state that, "It may be many years before the water becomes unfit for use,"[38] he was already suggesting (1873) the use of the Morris Canal and the highland rivers and lakes for the Newark supply.

Between 1873 and 1880, little was heard concerning pollution on the lower Passaic. The "water for the past year (1874) has been abundant and of general good quality. The project of obtaining a supply for Newark and Jersey City from the lakes and streams in the northern part of the state, which has been agitated for the past two years, seems not likely (in the case of Newark at least) to be entered into at present."[39] In 1875, Bailey recommended that air be pumped directly into the river before it

[34]*Ibid.*
[35]*Ibid.*
[36]*Report, 1861,* p. 24. For a refutation of this point of view, see footnote 44.
[37]Joint Commission, *op. cit.,* p. 51.
[38]*Ibid.*
[39]Newark Aqueduct Board, *Report,* Dec. 1, 1874 (Newark, 1875), p. 8.

reached the Newark Intake; he suggested that pipes be built to carry the city sewage further down river. A report praising the quality of the waters of Lake Hopatcong and Greenwood Lake —feeders of the Morris Canal—was circulated in 1877. But no action was taken for procuring a new water supply because of the depressed condition of Newark's industrial and commercial interests and because Passaic River water continued to maintain its high quality.[40]

In April, 1880, a peculiarly bad taste marked the water at Newark. Complaints were audible in every quarter of the city. Examination of the river disclosed that carbolic acid used by the Kingsland paper mill on Third River to make "anti-moth" paper was the culprit. The Kingslands were indicted "for polluting the waters of the Passaic, putting carbolic acid into it, and thereby constituting a public nuisance."[41] As a direct result of the indictment, Newark and Jersey City joined forces to combat the problem. On October 27, 1881, the "Board of Inspection of the Pollution of the Passaic River and its Tributaries" was organized.[42] Professor Leeds, who had analyzed the waters of the Passaic ten years earlier, was instructed to take water samples from selected stations along the river.

At Paterson, Leeds noted:

> Instead of a sweet-tasting, limpid water, we have a bluish-red liquid, disgusting to the taste and smell. The percentage of free ammonia has increased five times . . . it is fifteen times greater than that permissible in safe drinking waters. The albuminoid ammonia has increased until it is eight times larger than the allowable amount . . . the amount of chlorine has increased three times, the hardness more than twice . . . [43]

As he moved down river, Leeds perceived that amounts of contaminated materials grew less. The open air continued ap-

[40] *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1877 (Newark, 1878), p. 17.

[41] *Pollution of the Passaic River* (Newark, Newark Aqueduct Board, 1882), p. 16. The background of the Kingsland case is presented in the *Annual Report* of the Newark Aqueduct Board, for the year ending Nov. 30, 1880 (Newark, 1881), p. 10.

[42] *Pollution of the Passaic River*, p. 6.

[43] The report of Prof. A. R. Leeds on the contamination of the Passaic River is included in the *Pollution of the Passaic* cited above. See p. 28.

parently to play the role of purifier.[44] Near Passaic, Leeds noted the sea-salt influence and urged strongly that the tides be effectively channeled. Bailey's idea of the Newark dam was revived. Proponents of the scheme claimed that the dam was the only way that sea water and sewage could be kept out of the Jersey City and Newark intakes.[45] They pointed out that a fine slack water would be created behind the dam which would aid navigation on the river. Opponents of the project claimed that with the tide impeded, innumerable freshets would bottle up the water above the dam and shoals would grow up between the dam and Passaic.[46] A gentleman from Belleville agreed that impediments to navigation would be increased, that sanitary conditions would be unfavorably affected, that the danger from flood would be heightened.[47]

Meanwhile, examination of the river continued. Samples were collected, properly sealed and labeled. For the sake of uniformity, all were taken on the first day of each month. The table[48] indicates that similar amounts of free ammonia and albuminoid ammonia were present in the waters at Newark in September, 1881, and September, 1882, respectively, an indication that the water of the river was of equal purity. Water began to deteriorate in September and October of 1881. The percentage of free ammonia in October was fifteen times greater than it had been in

[44]Very little was known of the self-purification of streams in the nineteenth century. The views held by Bailey and Leeds concerning the Passaic may well have been fallacious. Vermeule, writing in 1893, could state, "The idea that a stream which flows with a smooth, gliding current, like that of the Passaic below Paterson, can purify itself, is fallacious, and a dangerous one to obtain currency. Streams which leap over cataracts and rapids, or even ripple over stony beds, become purified by aeration and oxidation because a large proportion of their waters are brought in direct contact with the atmosphere. No such contact is obtainable with streams flowing in deep channels with smooth, unbroken surfaces." From C. C. Vermeule, "Water-Supply and Water-Power," *Annual Report of the State Geologist for the Year 1893* (Trenton, 1894), p. 374. For a critical review of the problem at a later date, see Earle B. Phelps, "Studies on Self Purification of Streams," *Weekly Public Health Reports, U.S. Publ. Health Serv.*, Report 214, Aug. 14, 1914, pp. 2128-32.

[45]*The Proposed Dam Across the Passaic River*, pp. 2-3.

[46]*The Newark Dam, Evidence and Arguments Concerning Senate Bill No. 64 before the Commitee on Revision of Laws, Senate of New Jersey, Feb. 14, 1882*, p. 9.

[47]*Ibid.*, p. 20

[48]The table is taken from Leeds' second annual report to the Special Committee of the Newark Aqueduct Board on the Pollution of the Passaic River and Tributaries. See *Annual Report* of the Newark Aqueduct Board, year ending Nov. 29, 1882 (Newark, 1883), p. 98.

March, the albuminoid ammonia five times greater. When samples of Croton water were compared with the Passaic's, the latter was found to be inferior.[49] The rise in chlorine and hardness contents reflected in the diagram was due to the salt water and sewage carried in by the tide. The period of purest water on the river is indicated in February and March.

On June 17, 1882, further tests were made to determine to what extent the Passaic water was influenced by the Newark sewerage, to see whether or not the reflux tide was more marked at the Jersey City Pumping Station or the Newark Intake, to determine the change in the character of the water before and after flood tide.[50] A sample was collected at 9:15 A.M. after the tide had been running for 3¼ hours. It was discovered that in flowing past the city of Newark the free ammonia, albuminoid ammonia, oxygen, nitrates, and hardness had all increased. The Jersey City Intake showed even higher figures. The tests clearly demonstrated that the sewage coming down river from Paterson and Passaic had less of a deleterious effect upon the water at the Newark Intake than the sewage carried upstream by the tide.

The Passaic waters grew worse between June 17th and July 6th. Was this deterioration periodic? Was it true that every February and March found the river at greatest purity? Was October the month to fear the most? Unfortunately, records for rainfall, height and location of the crest of tidal waves and volume of water were inadequate at the time. Their need was being increasingly stressed. On August 1, marked differences were noted in the waters of the Newark and Jersey City intakes. Both were below standards for good drinking water but the former supply was far superior to the latter. Ocean water had contaminated the Jersey City supply once more. In October, at the time of the flood, the waters were at their worst. In November and December the waters were comparatively pure, but Leeds was warning citizens of the danger of drinking the water when ice covered the stream.[51]

Meanwhile a decision had been made on the Newark dam.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 101.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 103.
[51] *Sewage Polluted Passaic*, p. 20.

The opponents of the project had won their case. As one observer put it, "The effort failed and since that time the people of Newark have drunken much of their own sewage . . . "[52]

But the Passaic waters of 1884 were much better than the waters of 1883 and both were superior to the waters of 1881 and 1882.

> The rigid inspection of the stream has succeeded in keeping it free from carcasses of dead animals, from its being used as a dumping place for nightsoil, offal and refuse of all description. It has caused the removal of closets and drains which formerly carried the excreta of thousands of operatives directly into the Passaic or some of its tributaries. It has caused the smaller communities located on Second and Third Rivers to give up the project of converting these streams into sewers, and instead to resort to systems of sewage utilization, the plan usually followed being that of sub-soil disposal through open drains. It has caused so large a community as that of the town of Passaic to seriously consider the problem of disposing of its sewage by a method which would return the effluent waters in a purified condition to the Passaic.[53]

This report of the Newark Aqueduct Board was far too optimistic. When Professor Leeds was asked in 1887 to list the leading sources of Passaic River pollution, he cited as contributors the city of Passaic, the city of Paterson, the oil pipe line at Saddle River, Third River, the town of Belleville, Second River, and the city of Newark.[54]

At Paterson a population of 70,000 and a myriad of factories —cotton mills, woolen factories, locomotive works, jute mills and silk dyeing establishments—were contributing their wastes to the Passaic. Millions of gallons of brilliantly colored dyestuffs were being discharged into the river

> The city is rapidly extending its sewer system, and foecal matter which formerly was held in cesspools is now being discharged into the river. There are already 28 miles of sewers, emptying by 13 large outlets, to say nothing of canals, tail races and private drains innumerable.[55]

Down river, leakages from oil tanks were to be seen. The

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[53] Newark Aqueduct Board, *Annual Report* for the year ending Nov. 30, 1884 (Newark, 1885), pp. 131-32.

[54] *Sewage Polluted Passaic*, pp. 10-13. The following paragraphs are based almost exclusively upon Leeds.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

pipe-line crossing Saddle River had burst. Oil covered the surface of the Passaic for miles.

Passaic itself was contributing much sewage to the river—the wastes of six mills and a chemical plant. Ordinances were passed in 1884 and 1885 contemplating "the immediate building of about thirteen miles of sewers, with seven large outlets directly into the Pasaic River . . . "

Third River was being defiled by refuse from Oakes' Woolen Mills and the Manila Paper Factory at Bloomfield as well as from Davies' Paper Mill and Underhill's Woolen Knitting Mill. Duncan's Woolen Mills was sending dyestuffs into the river; Kingsland's Paper Mill chemicals and chloride of lime. A mountain spring had been turned into an open sewer. All the sewage was emptied into the Passaic two and one half miles above the Jersey City Intake and only a mile and a quarter above the Newark Intake.

Belleville had no sewers, but a large number of drains did discharge directly into the river. The contents of sinks and cesspools were poured into the Passaic just opposite the Jersey City Intake.

Second River was one of the worst offenders. Hat, plaster and chemical works, as well as copper rolling and wire mills contributed their wastes to the river. The drains of Montclair, Ridgewood, and part of Bloomfield were also emptied into the Passaic.

Newark's entire sewage capacity—sixty miles of sewers—was emptied directly into the river. No remedy had yet been found for the problem of sewage disposal or the reflux tide.

For over two centuries Newark had derived its potable water from springs, wells, and nearby reservoirs. Hard pressed as early as 1860 by a growing population and an expanding industrial base to provide for its inhabitants an adequate water supply, the city finally turned to the river for help. It was not until 1870, however, that water from the Passaic was drawn into the Newark Intake for the first time. And it wasn't long before Newarkers became sharply critical of the contamination and poor taste of the city supply. Jersey City's residents proved to be equally critical. Both unleashed their invective against the manufacturing communities upriver—Paterson and Passaic—which were accused

of befouling the Passaic water with human and industrial wastes, thereby endangering the health and lives of citizens down river.

With the advent of chemical analysis and constant examination and supervision, much was learned about the Passaic River water. Newarkers discovered that while the upriver communities were certainly guilty of discharging sewage into the Passaic, the harm done was only barely perceptible at the Newark Intake because open-air passage had provided for partial purification. Their own eyes were turned on the Passaic River tide which was seen to be responsible for carrying Newark's own sewage upriver past the Newark Intake. Arguments for maintaining a clean Passaic channel by erecting a dam across the river were heard, debated, and subsequently dismissed.

Hesitating to abandon the river, Newarkers were constantly being made aware of the fact that the problem of the city water supply was to be avoided rather than met. When on April 13, 1888 the Common Council of Newark decided to consult with the Newark Aqueduct Board concerning an increased water supply, the Passaic River was still an open sewer.

Twenty Questions on New Jersey

FRED SHELLEY

Check each correct answer in the space provided.

1. Most of the 'rickshaws used in the Far East were made in Bordentown ——, Burlington ——, Bridgeton ——, Beverly ——.

2. The Bergen County Historical Society has its headquarters in the courthouse ——, Steuben House ——, Fairleigh Dickinson Library ——.

3. Two ——, three ——, four ——, five —— New Jersey women have served their state as Congresswomen.

4. The *Newark Evening News* ——, the *Elizabeth Daily Journal* ——, the *Trenton State Gazette* —— celebrates its 75th anniversary in 1958.

5. Robert G. Johnson, an early member and officer of the New Jersey Historical Society, ate an apple ——, an apricot ——, a tomato —— on the Salem County court house steps to prove it was not poisonous.

6. The Colonial Dames of New Jersey have recently accepted responsibility for the preservation of the Old School House ——, the Old Quaker Church ——, the John Woolman House —— in Mount Holly.

7. The first Miss America contest at Atlantic City was held in 1911 ——, 1921 ——, 1931 ——.

8. New Jersey has 20 ——, 21 ——, 22 ——, 23 —— counties.

9. Cape May was long known as Cape Point ——, Cape Island ——, Cape Breeze ——.

10. The *Freie Zeitung* ——, the *Deutsche Zeitung* ——, the *Paterson Zeitung* —— celebrates its centennial in 1958.

11. Bergen ——, Hudson ——, Passaic —— County has a legitimate claim as an early movie capital.

12. The company in Paterson which built so many locomotives was the Baldwin ——, Rogers ——, Grant —— Company.

13. The Robertines ——, the Rogerenes ——, the Ralstonites —— were a small religious sect who flourished in New Jersey in the middle of the 18th century.

14. The president of the New Jersey Historical Society is Charles B. Bradley ——, Richard P. McCormick ——, Harry O. H. Frelinghuysen ——.

15. Annie Oakley, the famous sharp-shooting young lady, was born in Belleville ——, Bloomfield ——, Franklin Township ——, Nutley ——.

16. The chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court is Arthur T. Vanderbilt ——, William J. Brennan, Jr. ——, Joseph Weintraub ——.

17. It would be correct to say that New Jersey has always been a melting

pot ——, a pure English colony ——, a largely Anglo-Saxon civilization —— from its beginning.

18. The Frank H. Stewart Collection of New Jersey manuscripts and printed items, one of the important private collections, was given and is now in the library of the Glassboro State Teachers College ——, Rutgers in Camden ——, Georgian Court College ——.

19. The railroad which recently, after 95 years of service, abandoned passenger service to New York is the Jersey Central ——, the Reading ——, the Baltimore and Ohio ——.

20. Old Queens, the fine old building of Rutgers University, has been a landmark in New Brunswick since 1788 ——, 1808 ——, 1828 ——.

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Incident at New Bridge

SAMUEL A. PLEASANTS

The following paper was read at the 8th annual New Jersey Historical Conference, held June 6, 1958, at the Teaneck campus of Fairleigh Dickinson University. The author holds B.A. *(1940),* M.A. *(1941), and* Ph.D. *(1948) degrees from Columbia University. A member of the Fairleigh Dickinson faculty since 1952, Dr. Pleasants is the author of* Fernando Wood of New York *(1948) and other monographs.*

A few short months after the proclamation of independence, the Revolutionary War nearly ended in disaster for the Americans—at a place seldom mentioned in most histories of the United States—New Bridge, New Jersey. The unwillingness or inability of the British command under General Sir William Howe to capitalize on their military position in November, 1776, marked a major turning-point in the war and may well have denied ultimate victory to the British armies.

To understand something of the background it is necessary to realize that there was a strong peace movement in England cutting across party lines, but generally belonging to the Whig party, some elements of which apparently came close to treason. The Whig party and its opposition, the Tories, apparently developed during the heated debate of 1689 over the attempt to exclude James from succession to the English throne and thus establish a constitutional monarchy. Those who favored giving such determination of power to the Parliament, and thus limiting absolute monarchy, were called Whigs, and the connotation was one of rebellion. Those who were opposed to such a course of events were called Tories, the connotation being one of legitimism. The Revolution of 1689 settled the issue by establishing William and Mary as constitutional monarchs through invitation of Parliament.[1] The consequent ascendancy of the Whigs led to the gradual dissolution of the Tory party and its virtual disappearance by 1714. Over the next fifty years the Whig party, with no

[1]Winston Churchill, *History of the English Speaking Peoples,* III, 7-8, says that the Whigs "looked on the Revolution of 1689 as the vindication of their own political belief in the idea of a contract between the Crown and the people." He goes on to say that after this, England "settled into the acceptance of the Whig conceptions . . ."

organized opposition to meet, gradually broke up into quarreling groups and factions operating in Parliament largely through patronage and influence. After the ascension of George III in 1760, an attempt was made to restore absolute monarchy with the aid of a group called "the King's friends," a group drawn from various sources and who ruled England until 1784. In the early years of his reign, George III and the "king's friends" so manipulated patronage and pressure that by the outbreak of fighting in America in 1775, a strong monarchy had virtually been reestablished. In the process a good many Englishmen had become alienated, and many came to regard the fighting in the colonies with sympathy and moral support.

"Powerful English politicians denounced not only the military and naval mismanagement, but the use of force against the colonies at all . . . In the House of Commons it is not unusual to speak of the colonial armies as 'our army.'" Such sentiment may have outrun the country's actual feelings and thus helped the government to stay in power by labelling the opposition as traitors.[2] Late in the War the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published a letter from a Whig member of the British Parliament which read in part:

> I persuade myself your countrymen are not so contaminated with the effeminacy of this nation not to see that this is the important crisis when they ought to make a solemn . . . stand against the cruel . . . policy adopted against the rights and freedoms of America; and let me add that if the deputies of the several provinces . . . do not one and all . . . resolve to establish . . . a solemn league . . . for the purpose of forming a suitable plan for assuring American rights and freedom, our children will be irremediably deprived of that inheritance of liberty which our forefathers carefully and piously transmitted to us.[3]

Among these Whigs were the Howe brothers, Richard and William, the latter serving as member of Parliament from Nottingham during the period of 1758 to 1780. William had been elected to replace his brother killed in the French and Indian Wars. In his campaign for re-election in 1774, he was questioned

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 192. Fortescue, *History of the British Armies,* III, 198, quotes Fox, a leading member of Commons, as describing Howe's victory at Brooklyn as "terrible news."

[3] *History and Political Reflections of the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion* (1780), p. 63.

by some taxpayers as to his sentiments toward America. He is quoted as saying that the whole of the British army was insufficent to conquer America, that the Ministry had pushed the matter too far, and that he would vote for repeal of the Intolerable Acts passed to punish Boston after the "Tea Party" episode. Finally he told his constituents that he would refuse to accept command of any British army sent to the New World. Possibly on this basis, he was re-elected to his seat in Parliament.

Early in 1775 he was informed that George III had not offered him command, but had given him command, and was further told that this was not a request but an order. This naturally posed a difficult dilemma, in view of his stand during the previous campaign. One of his constituents wrote a letter to Sir William, pointing out what the author considered to be the inconsistencies of his acceptance of the new position. In his reply, Sir William tried to rationalize his apparent deviation from his previous stand.

> My going to America was not of my seeking. I was ordered and could not refuse, without incurring the odious name of backwardness to serve my country in distress . . . Every man's private feelings ought to give way to the service of the public at all times; but particullarly when of that delicate nature in which our affairs stand at present . . .[4]

He goes on to imply that a command of this sort would give an opportunity to him to negotiate for peace. Very possibly because of their known sentiments, the Howe brothers were sent as a peace commission to deal with the Americans in the summer of 1776, and conferred with a committee from the Continental Congress in September, 1776.

Before the conference was held, William had served as second-in-command at Boston and had led the charge of the British army at Bunker Hill in person. Upon succeeding to the command after General Gage, Sir William withdrew from Boston and retired to Halifax with his army and those loyalists who sympathized with the efforts to suppress the rebellion. In Canada he re-equipped his forces and sailed for New York for his rendezvous with brother Richard and history.

There were many reasons for British interest in New York and

[4] *A Reply to the Observations of Lt. General Sir William Howe* (London), pp.145-46.

New Jersey. The capture of New York and New Jersey would help to choke off rebellious New England between Canada and the British armies to the south of New England. Geographically New York City is not a solid unit, but divided into five areas separated by water and thus favoring naval operations. The population of New York and New Jersey was approximately one fourth of New England, and fifteen per cent of the southern states. Exposed to attack from both Canada and the Atlantic seaboard, it would be like a nut in the jaws of a nutcracker. Because of relatively easy attack by the British, local New York City and New Jersey patriots exercised caution in expressing their sentiments, which encouraged the King's friends, and in turn encouraged efforts by the British government in behalf of the loyalists. The arrival of the colonial army before New York City in April, 1776, brought these factors to a head.[5]

After re-grouping and strengthening his forces, Sir William sailed from Halifax with New York City as his goal—a goal lightly defended by the colonial army. Landing on Long Island, the British swept across the colonial army and launched the Battle of Brooklyn Heights. General Sir Henry Clinton urged Sir William to turn the enemy flank and occupy the village of Bedford, which would then surround the American army with British troops. With considerable reluctance Howe agreed although according to Clinton, "in all of his opinions to me General Howe did not expect any good to come from this move . . . even when in the village of Bedford he did not seem to know we were there" and eventually broke off the action.[6] The significance of this is that the British had a force of ten thousand men in the rear of the American right wing late at night and "so in effect the battle was won."[7] "Had the attempt been made, the completest success would most likely have been the consequence."[8]

After crossing into Manhattan the Americans retired toward

[5]Curtis Nettels, *George Washington and American Independence* (Boston, 1951), p. 271.

[6]Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion . . . Narrative of the Campaign from 1775 to 1778,* edited by William B. Willcox (New Haven, 1954), p. 42.

[8]Sir Henry Clinton, *op. cit.,* p. 44. In his *Familiar Letters,* p. 231, John Adams writes "in general our generals were outgeneraled on Long Island."

Kingsbridge and the Harlem River in fair strength, and for nearly a month nothing further of note took place. It was during this period that the famous peace conference was held in pursuance of the King's instructions and commission to the Howe brothers. Admiral Howe, speaking at the conference for the British, described himself and his brother as being well known in England as "well wishers to America . . . I feel for America as for a brother, and if America should fall, I should feel it and lament it like the loss of a brother." To which Benjamin Franklin, one of the delegates from the Continental Congress, is reported to have remarked, "My Lord we will use our utmost endeavor to save your Lordship that mortification."

A delegation from the Americans, including John Adams, negociated extensively with the British. In his *Familiar Letters* written to his wife, Adams tell us that Howe's commission

> authorizes him to grant pardons upon submission and to confer, converse, consult and advise with such persons as he may think proper upon American grievances, upon the instructions to Governors, and the acts of Parliament, and if any errors should be found to have crept in, His Majesty and the Ministry were willing that they should be rectified.[9]

In his letter home on the situation John Adams says "Howe's head is rather confused I think."

So the conference of September 14 had failed, but much more serious was the loss of three weeks' time so late in the fighting season. In fact Howe favored going into winter quarters,[10] but after some delay struck at the Americans through his landing at Kips Bay, a piece of masterful strategy which Howe failed to realize until the Americans had safely retreated north of the trap. The result of all this was that Washington had given up land and had retired to White Plains but still had an army. From October 21 to November 1 the two armies lay separated by hardly more than eight miles, when the Americans retreated toward

[9]John Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 226. Apparently Howe came with nothing more than offers of pardon for the rebels, which of course was entirely inadequate in view of the earlier adoption of the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress. The lack of the appreciation of the seriousness of the American situation on the part of the government is obvious from such limited instructions.

[10]Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

Fort Washington.[11] It was in his testimony before a Parliamentary committee that Howe testified concerning the White Plains episode: "The Committee must give me credit when I assure them that I have political reasons, and no other, for declining to explain why the assault was not made."[12]

It was quite clear that Washington must now retire across the Hudson River before the British navy made the passage impossible, a move by the navy that could leave the American army trapped in New England. Admiral Richard Howe and his ships had already passed up the Hudson between Forts Lee and Washington as far north as Dobbs Ferry, and it would be only a matter of time before the Howes would have the river shut off entirely.

Washington reorganized his army into three groups, moving south with one group of five thousand, leaving about twelve behind to guard Harlem and the White Plains area. While this was taking place, the British army moved south capturing Fort Washington with its garrison of two thousand men, and in the process nearly capturing Washington personally. According to some reports, Washington was in the Fort fifteen minutes before it fell. "As the Americans retired from New York City victory lay at Howe's fingertips. He was master of the Hudson . . . he might have captured the whole of the colonial army."[13]

At this juncture, General Clinton urged Sir William to send him across the Hudson River at Amboy, and join with Cornwallis from the north in the neighborhood of New Brunswick. Writing in his memoirs, Clinton describes the situation existing in November, 1776 as follows

For though we had not heretofore any considerable victories to plume ourselves except that of August 27 [Bedford] the rebel General had not the single advantage to carry to Congress. I therefore presume I was justi-

[11]"Observations upon the Conduct of Sir William Howe," published in the *London Gazette* of 1776, and republished in the *Magazine of History*, XXX (1926), 186-94. This contains a bitter attack upon Howe for his conduct at White Plains. A letter to the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1778 remarked that any other general than Howe would have defeated Washington.

[12]*The Narrative of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe April 29, 1779, Relative to His Conduct During His Late Command of the King's Troops in North America* (London, 1781), p. 7.

[13]Churchill, *op. cit.*, III, 191.

fied in conceiving that, if some extraordinary reverse did not soon happen, there was good ground to hope that the disaffected colonies upon finding it impossible to raise another army . . . would be compelled to give up the contest, and that this campaign would consequently be the last.[14]

For his troubles Clinton was sent north to co-operate in the capture of Newport as a naval base for the British navy during the coming winter. One wonders what might have happened had the proposed Clinton plan been adopted. Clinton's thinking was not so much to seize territory but to capture Washington, while Howe's behavior in missing golden opportunities on Long Island and New Jersey is something of a mystery. Each time Washington slipped through his fingers. It is well to note here the growing friction between Sir Henry and Sir William that grew from the spring of 1775 until the spring of 1778. This friction was partly personal and partly professional, for Clinton was the obvious successor to Howe.

The decision to strike across the Hudson to the north of Fort Lee surprised many military historians, and apparently the Americans at the Fort. Had Cornwallis struck at New Bridge instead of Fort Lee, he would have caught the Americans between the Hackensack and Hudson rivers.[15] But a map in British military headquarters showed New Bridge to the south of Hackensack instead of its correct location to the north of Hackensack. On the basis of such a map, Cornwallis would have been justified in attacking toward Fort Lee, as the Fort lay on the route toward Ridgefield, and the supposed bridge across the Hackensack River.[16]

Speaking before a Parliamentary commission investigating his conduct, Sir William had this to say about geographic conditions in America: "That part of America where I had been is the strongest country I was ever in; it is everywhere hilly and covered with wood and intersected by ravines, creeks, marshy grounds and in every quarter of a mile is a post fitted for am-

[14]Clinton, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[15]Troyer Anderson, *The Command of the Howe Brothers during the American Revolution* (Oxford, 1936), p. 199.

[16]This wrong map has led to many conjectures as to British intentions. Judge Arthur O'Dea, *Washington and his Army in Bergen County* (p. 17), attributes it to hasty and careless workmanship, and states "the misinformation in the British maps . . . spelled failure for the British mission . . ."

buscades. Little or no knowledge could be obtained by reconnoitering."[17]

During a heavy fog on the night of November 14, the British army under the immediate command of General Cornwallis moved thirty small boats up the Hudson River unchallenged by the Americans at Fort Lee, and by the nineteenth landed an army estimated at anywhere from forty-five hundred to ten thousand.[18] The night of November 19th was a starless night and the British flotilla sailed out of Spuyten Duyvil north to a point across the river from Closter Dock, and then crossed the river at this point and successfully landed under the cover of this fog. A contemporary watercolor, reportedly done by a British officer, illustrates the scaling of the Palisades. From here the army marched down the Palisades toward Fort Lee.

At this point the fate of America was nearly settled. The American army was cooking breakfast over campfires, and Washington was at his headquarters in Hackensack, and General Greene reportedly was still in bed at Fort Lee. If the British army could move down the Palisades and launch a surprise attack upon Fort Lee, it is possible that the entire American army might have been lost.

The foiling of this plan is attributed to a variety of sources—deserters from the British army, an American farmer out doing his plowing, and a warning by American outposts. Sir William himself reportedly attributed the failure of his plans to a country man, and some contemporary writers have done the same. Tom Paine, who was with the army at Fort Lee, identifies the informer as an American officer from an outlying post. A deserter is possible, due to the generally bad treatment of troops in the British army, although in view of the apparent success of the British army in landing and going south on the Palisades without hinderance, the possibility of a deserter's informing the

[17] *The Narrative of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe,* p. 38.

[18] Fortescue *op. cit.,* III, 195, describes it as a "flying column" of 4500 men made up of two battalions of Grenadiers, two battalions of Light Infantry Guards, 42 and 43 Detachment of 16th Light Dragoons and four companies of Hessians. These were not reenforced until November 24 south of Hackensack when they were joined by nine battalions and a brigade of Highlanders. Wallace agrees with this estimate of Fortescue. Judge O'Dea, *op. cit.,* describes it as an army of nearly ten thousand.

Americans is somewhat dimmed.[19] In any event, the alarm was sounded and a messenger was sent hastily to Hackensack to warn Washington, who galloped from Hackensack to Fort Lee over what is now Fort Lee Road. In front of the Leonia Presbyterian Church on Fort Lee Road is a little stone marker commemorating this event.[20]

Despite the warning, General Greene's forces at Fort Lee were thrown into confusion. The American army fled, leaving tents, baggage, and food cooking on the campfires. "We were obliged to leave some hundred barrels of flour, most of our cannon and a considerable parcel of tents and baggage."[21] It was during these fatful days that Washington is credited with saying that "the end is near."

Led personally by Washington, the American army retired down the west slope of the Palisades through what is now Leonia, and then in the neighborhood of what is now Grand Avenue and Fort Lee Road turned north, while Cornwallis apparently turned south. The Americans moved north toward Englewood, safely passing what is now the intersection of Palisade Avenue and Tenafly Road. They should have had some difficulty at this crucial point, but there were no British in sight, since Cornwallis was apparently to the south looking for New Bridge. Washington led his men safely past this point, on to the New Bridge Road into Bergenfield, and thence to the New Bridge crossing of the Hackensack River, where again the British failed to appear. On the evening of November 20 he crossed the bridge and destroying it behind him, was safe for the moment in Hackensack.

An eyewitness account describes the entry of the army into Hackensack in the following graphic words: "It was about dusk on the evening of November 20 when the head of the troops entered Hackensack. The night was cold and rainy . . . They marched two abreast looking ragged, without a shoe to their feet and most of them wrapped in blankets." Behind them lay an

[19]One of the chief advocates of the "countryman" theory is Judge O'Dea, *op. cit.* Fortescue (*op. cit.*, III, 195) attributes it to a deserter from the British army.

[20]Anna Noyes, *Three Petticoats*, p. 19.

[21]N. Stephenson and W. Dunn, *George Washington* (1940), I, 374-76.

area that was "almost destitute of male inhabitants . . . a few excepted, who remained to fire from behind bushes on the King's troops as they passed."[22]

Also behind them but across the Hackensack River, were the campfires of the British army spread all the way from New Bridge to Ridgefield. Cornwallis had spent the day of November 20 futilely attempting to make contact with the American army. Had he made a major contact with the Americans in the Hackensack River-Hudson River enclosure, the war undoubtedly would have ended. But struggling with bad maps and difficult terrain slowed His Lordship down, allowing the Americans to get to New Bridge first and destroy it before the arrival of the British army. All boats were withdrawn, including the horse ferry at what is now Little Ferry.

On the morning of November 21 the Americans retreated south out of Hackensack, and the Hackensack Green was quickly occupied by British and Hessian troops. And so began the retreat to Trenton which so aptly has been described as the retreat to victory. The British had had their chance and allowed it to slip between their fingers. There would be a succession of British generals and a succession of battles, many of them reverses for the Americans but not again would the American cause be in such grim peril.

Many theories have been advanced for the apparent failure of the King's army to take advantage of their opportunities between the summer of 1776 and November 21, 1776. As the Howe brothers, general and admiral, were in command of the British forces, much of the conjecture centers on them and their policies. Any researcher into the affairs of the brothers Howe is handicapped by the fact that most of the Howe papers were destroyed by fire and are thus not available. The extreme tactiturnity of the Howes qualifies this loss, since undoubtedly they would not have recorded upon paper for posterity any questionable actions. A great deal of secondary writing has appeared on the subject,

[22]*The Narrative, op. cit.*, p. 41. In examining the order book of the British army for the month of November, 1776, the reader is struck with the lack of any sense of urgency on the part of the British. There is no feeling that the American army could be destroyed between Fort Lee and Hackensack.

and has cast some light on the controversial campaign of General Howe in New York and northern New Jersey. Few of the writers do more than present available evidence and allow the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Some of these writers have raised the question of the effects of Bunker Hill and the savage losses of the British on General Howe. They imply that the bloodletting that took place there convinced Howe that he must use indirect methods rather than the frontal attacks employed at Bunker Hill. Charles Francis Adams has condemned the entire campaign as incompetent, which to this author is a little too sweeping in view of Howe's genius at Kips Bay, Fort Washington and in crossing the Hudson River above Fort Lee.[23] Sir William had had a very good record during the Seven Years War before going into the Revolutionary War. Fortescue is inclined to blame the civil government at home for its conflicting war program, which he feels made the military forces overseas the victim.[24] "No mistake is more common nor more fatal in British statesmen than to attempt to wage war upon the principles of peace." Later, in describing the number of New Jersey farmers who had taken the oath of allegiance to the King and then been captured fighting for the patriots, Fortescue is led again to remark, "It is not by oaths alone but by arms that men should wage war."

Churchill seems inclined to place the blame upon the military commanders in the field: " . . . the Patriot cause in 1776 seemed lost . . . With an imprudence which is difficult to understand and was soon to be punished, outposts from the British army were flung about in careless fashion through New Jersey towns."[25] In answer to this charge Howe testified before Parliament that he had not planned to go as far as Trenton or Bordentown, but had gone as a last measure to protect groups of Loyalists living in the area. He further testified that he had ordered the unfortunate Colonel Rall, commanding the Hessian troops at Trenton, to undertake all military precautions in the defense of Trenton once

[23]Charles Francis Adams, in *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. XLIV.

[24]Fortescue, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[25]Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

he had occupied it. This of course Rall failed to do and paid for this oversight with the loss of Trenton and the reappearance of the American army in New Jersey.

The factor most commonly advanced is the Whig affiliation of the Howes and their particular interests in America as demonstrated at the September peace conference. There are those who argue that the peace commission proposal and the part offered to the Howes was a sop thrown either to the disaffected Whigs in general or the Howes in particular. In his testimony before Parliament concerning his inaction at White Plains, Howe replied that "political considerations alone" kept him from ordering the attack against an outnumbered army. Certainly many Whigs were bitterly opposed to the war and regarded the trouble in America as a dispute "in which the Patriots as well as the Crown were entitled to certain inalienable rights. The Whigs had no desire to crush the patriots . . . "[26] If by a great show of force General Howe could bring the Americans to realize the futility of the war, and impress upon them the fact that a military victory was out of the question, a voluntary submission and reconciliation would follow. This of course would have been a great victory for the Whigs, with all it implied in regard to the position assumed by George III. A Parliamentary victory for the Whigs under these circumstances would not be too much to expect, which might have altered many pages of history, and the place occupied by Sir William Howe in history would have been secured for all time.

[26]Bellamy Partridge, *Sir Billy Howe*, p. 103.

ANSWERS FOR "TWENTY QUESTIONS ON NEW JERSEY"

1. In Burlington by the James H. Birch Company.

2. Steuben House.

3. Two: Mary T. Norton, of Jersey City, 1925-1951, and Florence P. Dwyer, of Elizabeth, from 1957.

4. The *Newark Evening News.*

5. Tradition says he ate a tomato, or "love-apple," to prove them edible. Colonel Johnson was a vice president of the New Jersey Historical Society from 1845 to 1848.

6. The Old School House, thought to be the oldest school building still standing on its original site. See *Proceedings,* January 1954, pp. 26-47.

7. 1921.

8. 21.

9. Cape Island. See Robert C. Alexander, *Ho! For Cape Island!* (Cape May, 1956).

10. The *Freie Zeitung,* now published in Irvington.

11. Many movies were made in Fort Lee, Bergen County, from 1907 to 1923.

12. The Rogers Company built some 6,200 locomotives between 1837 and 1904.

13. The Rogerenes. See *Proceedings,* January 1958, pp. 70-71.

14. Harry O. H. Frelinghuysen was elected president of the Society last year. Mr. Bradley was president from 1945 to 1950; Dr. McCormick from 1950 to 1957.

15. In Franklin Township, now Nutley; thus if you checked either of these answers you have a correct answer.

16. Mr. Weintraub. The late Mr. Vanderbilt was chief justice until his death in 1957.

17. A melting pot. The Swedes, the Finns, the Dutch, the French, the Germans and other nationalities settled early in New Jersey.

18. The library of the Glassboro State Teachers College.

19. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

20. 1808.

PRINCETON, NEWARK, TEANECK AND NEW YORK

ROBERT M. LUNNY

THIS spring the activities of the Society have taken its officers, members and friends quite far afield from Newark—as far as Princeton in one direction and to New York and Teaneck in another. The season ended with two of the most important events in the Society's calendar: the Eighth Annual New Jersey Historical Conference in June and the New Jersey Dinner in May.

By the afternoon of May 26 the weather in Princeton had turned as perfect as only May weather can. The gardens at Morven too were at their very best. Guests of the New Jersey Dinner, who foregathered at Morven for a reception given by Governor and Mrs. Robert B. Meyner, were delighted. The circumstances seemed to assure the success of the dinner, being given for the second time to stimulate interest in the Society and to aid in covering its operating expenses.

Mrs. Meyner received the guests in the main hall with Mr. Harry O. H. Frelinghuysen, president of the Society, and Mrs. Frelinghuysen. Guests passed through the house to congregate on the garden terrace. Governor Meyner, delayed by his official duties in Trenton, could join the group only somewhat later. Once again, as a year ago, the warm hospitality of the Meyners made the reception at the Governor's residence a start for the evening.

The dinner was at the Princeton Inn. Those seated at the head table were the Governor, honorary chairman of the dinner, and Mrs. Meyner; the honorable Archibald S. Alexander, chairman and toastmaster, and Mrs. Alexander of Bernardsville; the Right Reverend Monsignor James F. Kelley of Ridgewood; Dr. Roy F. Nichols, the speaker of the evening, and Mrs. Nichols of Philadelphia; Dr. and Mrs. Richard P. McCormick of New Brunswick; Mrs. A. H. Greywacz of Trenton, and Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Monsignor Kelley pronounced the invocation. Then the president presented those at the head table and other guests: Dr. Robert F. Goheen, president of Princeton University, and Mrs. Goheen, and Dr. Lewis Webster Jones, president of Rutgers University, and Mrs. Jones. Through the co-chairmen of the arrangements committee, Mr. Frederick H. Groel and Mr. John Pierrepont, the president thanked the other members: Mrs. H.O.H. Frelinghuysen, Mrs. Walter French Fullam, Mr. Donald B. Kipp, Mr. and Mrs. Richard V. Lindabury, and Mrs. John Pierrepont.

Throughout the dinner the in-

formal and friendly atmosphere created at Morven continued. Mr. Alexander's remarks revealed him as a polyglot of no small stature, moving with ease as he did from classical to modern, Oriental to Occidental languages, even finding a spot for a bit of Russian, *nyet.*

The Governor in his brief greeting expressed the pleasure of Mrs. Meyner and himself in having Morven as their residence. He mentioned the enjoyment they derive from sharing the historic and charming house with others. He referred to the gift of the property and some of its furnishings to the state as an official residence of the governors, calling upon Mrs. Walter E. Edge to rise.

Mr. Alexander then introduced the speaker of the evening. Dr. Nichols is vice-provost of the University of Pennsylvania and dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. A distinguished American political historian, he won a Pulitzer Prize in history in 1949 for his *Disruption of American Democracy.* In his witty informal talk, "The Future of New Jersey's Past," Dr. Nichols recounted boyhood experiences in his native Newark and how he came to know the history of his state, learning much from his Saturday visits to the New Jersey Historical Society, then at 16 West Park Street. Humorously made but wholly serious was his plea for the development of historical interest in the state commensurate with the historical importance of New Jersey in the republic.

Mr. Frelinghuysen then made the following announcement:

"The Board of Trustees of the Society recently created a new class of membership, 'Fellows of the New Jersey Historical Society,' who shall be outstanding scholars in the field of New Jersey history . . . . Not more than one Fellow shall be elected in any year.

"The first person elected a Fellow of the Society is Dr. Richard P. McCormick, professor of history of Rutgers, the State University. Until last November Dr. McCormick was president of the Society, and it is a great privilege for me to announce his election.

"His contributions to advancement of the cause of New Jersey history are great in his capacity as a loyal, enthusiastic and devoted citizen of the state. His scholarly contributions are those on which his election as a Fellow is based. In 1947 he inaugurated at Rutgers a full year's course in New Jersey history. His book *Expriment in Independence: New Jersey in the Critical Period, 1781-1789,* was published in 1950 and his book *The History of Voting in New Jersey, a Study of the Development of Election Machinery, 1664-1911,* was published in 1953. He has contributed many articles and numerous reviews to learned journals, including the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society.*

"I take great pleasure in announcing Dr. McCormick as our first Fellow."

The final event of the evening was the presentation to the guest of honor of the New Jersey Historical Society Award, given for a distin-

guished contribution to the history of New Jersey. The award is a sterling silver footed tray engraved with the name of the recipient, the name of the award, and the seal of the Society. It was accompanied by an engrossed and illuminated citation, read by the president of the Society:

"Kathryn Burch Greywacz, in presenting you with its award for distinguished contributions to the history of New Jersey, the New Jersey Historical Society honors you for your outstanding achievements as an interpreter of our state's cultural heritage.

"Your inspired leadership as director has made the State Museum an effective showcase for exhibiting the artistic, intellectual, technological, and historical dimensions of New Jersey. Your vision, energy, and charming gifts of persuasion brought into existence the Arts Committee and the State Museum Association and the Archeological Society of New Jersey. You assisted with the formation of the Eastern States Archeological Association, the Museums Council of New Jersey. You were active also in the establishment of the state's educational visual aids program. All these are potent instruments for advancing the fields of service to which your career has been dedicated. Your enthusiastic assistance to every enterprise concerned with promoting interest in New Jersey commands our gratitude and respect.

"We pay our tribute to you this evening in behalf of our citizens of all ages whose appreciation of New Jersey, has been enriched by your talents."

This, the highest award of the Society, was presented for the first time one year ago to Dr. Harold W. Dodds, just prior to his retirement from the presidency of Princeton University.

June 7 was the date of the Eighth Annual New Jersey Historical Conference, held this year on the Teaneck campus of Fairleigh Dickinson University and sponsored by the New Jersey Historical Society and the Bergen County Historical Society. Nearly two hundred attended the all-day program which included morning and afternoon lectures and workshops, luncheon and a tea at the Steuben House in North Hackensack, the state-owned headquarters of the Bergen County group. The Museums Council of New Jersey conducted a workshop of special interest to small historical museums.

The general morning session was devoted to a topic of particular local interest and general historical interest in the eighteenth-century colonial and Revolutionary periods. Frederick W. Bogert, a trustee of the Bergen County Historical Society presided. The first of two lectures was "Dutch Life in Pre-Revolutionary Bergen County" by Richard H. Amerman, a trustee of the Holland Society of New York. The second was delivered by an assistant professor of history at Fairleigh Dickinson, Dr. Samuel A. Pleasants, who presented "A New Focus on the Revolutionary War in Northern

New Jersey." Both talks covered their subjects soundly and interestingly.

Concurrent with the general session there were two workshops. The one took the form of a round-table discussion on the important relationship between the school and the historical society. Moderator was Dr. Albert F. Carpenter, past president of the Bergen County Historical Society and an educator. Others on the panel were Mrs. W. E. Jackson, the mother of four teen-agers; Alfred Klyberg, a student at Hackensack High School; Mrs. Rosa A. Livingston, past president of the Paramus Historical and Preservation Society; and Dr. Harry L. Stearns, the superintendent of schools of Englewood. The subject under discussion, from so many and varied points of view, is of primary importance to those societies who are expanding their programs to reach out to and promote historical interest among our school population.

The other workshop, conducted by representatives of member museums of the Museums Council of New Jersey, was designed to help the small museum solve its problems by application of the suggestions offered. The session was called "Practical Display and Interpretation Techniques for the Small Historic Museum." Miss Katherine Coffey and Miss Marjorie H. Woodruff of the Newark Museum arranged the program. Four "grass roots" problems were discussed and illustrated. Edward Chandless, also of the Newark Museum, talked on "Collections; Some Basics of Their Display: Selection, Story, Preparation, Presentation." Chester H. Newkirk of the Morris Junior Museum discussed "Ingenuity and a Minimum Budget: Cases, Lighting, Installation." (Incidentally, the Morris Junior Museum at Morristown is one of our newest and most exciting New Jersey museums, with quite as much appeal to adults as to the children for whom it really is operated.) Miss Mary-Ellen Earl of the Montclair Art Museum talked on "Exhibition Treatment of an American Indian Collection," one of those knotty problems confronting so many museums small and large. "Lettering, Sketches, Simple Devices to Enliven the Exhibition" was the subject treated by the representative of the New Jersey State Museum, Miss Bernice E. Jamieson. Taken together, these four topics cover the important professional subjects which are the constant concern of all museums. To be sure, treatment so brief could only introduce a few problems and solutions. The Museums Council stands ready to aid in the conferences and by its own means all those museums throughout the state who might appreciate suggestions.

At the luncheon, the new president of the host society, Henry W. Dobson, presided. The director of the New Jersey Historical Society, Robert M. Lunny, read the list of societies represented at the conference, asking their members to rise to be counted. Towards the end of the luncheon, Miss Anne Lutz sang a number of ballads heard in earlier times in New Jersey.

In the afternoon session, a lecture

on "The Architecture of the Early Dutch Stone House" by Miss Rosalie Fellows Bailey, whose book *Pre-Revolutionary Dutch Houses* is an authoritative work, brought the conference to a close. The entire program was carefully selected to interest not only the people of Bergen County but their guests from elsewhere as well. The Bergen County Historical Society is to be complimented on its excellent choice of speakers and its carefully planned arrangements. The day's events were concluded at the tea and open house at the recently refurbished Steuben House, when everyone had an opportunity to see also the neighboring Demarest House.

Some few weeks ago the trustees of the Society were invited by the director of the New-York Historical Society to visit their fine building on Central Park West at 77th Street. Dr. Robert W. G. Vail wanted to tell our group something of the organization of the New York Society, about the division of responsibilities between the officers and trustees on the one hand and the director and the staff on the other, and how these two parts of that society, working closely together, have achieved the splendid results we see there today. Its great collections of the museum and the library, its splendid programs and publications were at one time all far less complete than now. Enthusiasm, hard work, and a belief in the worth of the work of a society can go far toward setting it on the road to fair comparison with its neighbors.

After a talk by Dr. Vail in the Trustee's Room and tours of the building, the group reassembled for a reception and the opportunity to talk with staff members. The dozen guests who were able to go all agreed that the afternoon was not only very instructive but most enjoyable. There is still much we have to do here in New Jersey to bring our Society up to the standards we all wish for it.

An aspect of the history of transportation in New Jersey of special interest is the steamboat service which was part of the trans-Jersey trip from New York to Philadelphia. Early in the nineteenth century, both ends of the journey usually were made by water; only the middle part across the waist of the state was made by road in a stage wagon, a stage coach, or later on a railroad, with its horse-drawn or locomotive-drawn train of cars.

The Stevens family of Hoboken played a great part in the development of steamboats and railroads, and one of them, Robert L. Stevens, in 1825 designed the *Trenton* for service on the Delaware. Such was the success of the boat that a second was built two years later and christened the *Burlington*. They were the finest steamboats on the river and immediately replaced the *Philadelphia* which had been in service since 1813.

Three recent acquisitions of the Society are three oil portraits of those famous early river steamers. The *Trenton* and the *Burlington* form a pair and show river scenes at Bristol and Burlington in the

backgrounds. The larger portrait of the *Philadelphia* may be by a different hand, although this is not ascertained. The three pictures are substantial contributions to our knowledge of the appearance of these steamboats as seen by a contemporary artist of no small talent. The Railroadians of America, always so willing to share in a transportation project, were largely responsible for the cleaning and restoring necessary on these fine additions.

Co-sponsored by the Museum of the City of New York and the National Trust for Historic Preservation late in April was the "New York Preservation Forum," attended by Mrs. Frederick Frelinghuysen, chairman of the Museum Committee, one of its members, Mrs. Richard Hartshorne, and also the Director. The president was prevented at the last minute from attending. Two other members were also there: Mrs. Hiram B. D. Blauvelt and Mrs. Jerome Straka.

The eight speakers, touching on the most important aspects of preservation work whether in historic houses or museums, were Dr. Richard H. Howland, president of the Trust; G. Carroll Lindsay of the Smithsonian; Carroll L. V. Meeks of Yale; John M. Patterson of the Crusade for Freedom, Inc.; Miss Janet Pinney in charge of children's programs at the Museum; Frederick L. Rath of the New York State Historical Association; Miss Barbara Snow of *Antiques* magazine; and Gerald R. W. Watland, architect. Mr. John W. Myer, director of the Museum, and Dr. Howland presided alternately. The two-day sessions, an outgrowth of "Historic-House Keeping" at Cooperstown was extremely well received and worthy of a much larger attendance.

At the annual meeting of the Woman's Branch held in April Mrs. Frederick Frelinghuysen was reelected president for a two-year term. Other officers elected are shown in the list toward the end of this issue of the magazine. After their luncheon the members and their guests heard Dr. Alvin K. Aster of Madison speak on eighteenth-century houses and churches throughout the length and breadth of New Jersey. Any one who doubts the fact that this state is architecturally important should see the colored slides which Dr. Aster has painstakingly taken since the introduction of color about twenty years ago. His is a superb collection of prints, many of buildings which have disappeared in only the last few years.

The contribution of Dr. Aster, a recent member of the Society, has not been confined to speaking before the Woman's Branch this spring. That same day he and Mrs. Aster brought along his entire collection of black-and-write negatives, totalling nearly four thousand, of buildings throughout New Jersey and nearby New York, Connecticut, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. He presented this truly great collection to the Society, thereby more than doubling its entire photographic record.

Building this collection began in 1929 when Dr. Aster was the president of the Orange Camera Club. When the present office building of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company was new, the club was invited to present an exhibition of New Jersey photographs, pictorial, industrial and historical. Dr. Aster found few historical prints. From that beginning, the interest in this great subject grew and continued through the years, taking Dr. Aster to many remote backwaters of the state to catch and preserve them in his camera. The collection is completely indexed and ready for reference.

There are also two other recent gifts of photographic records. Mr. Richard Herpers of Short Hills recently donated approximately 125 negatives of Newark scenes between 1860 and 1920. These constitute an exceptional record of the city during that sixty-year period. Another collection, from Somerset County, of about 400 glass negatives known as the Frederic S. Voorhees Collection constitutes a fine record of that area.

Both the Herpers and Voorhees negatives have been printed to make them even more readily available. This has been done through the resources of the Bernard and Rose Berg Memorial Fund, established last year by the son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Berg, Dr. Samuel Berg of Newark. Dr. Berg is especially interested in the preservation of the photographic record of the state and has established the fund by which the Society can obtain the material for maintaining this record as negatives become available. The Society will attempt to collect photographs of the state other than the city of Newark; the Newark Public Library will concentrate on that subject. Material from the collection of each institution will be available to the other.

Members of the Society are requested to help in the development of the photographic collection. Please keep this important matter in mind.

A drawing in water color of Perth Amboy is a recent gift from W. Clark Symington of Newark. This charming small scene from Staten Island is of the town in 1822 and shows in minute detail the buildings along the water front and others of prominence.

About one year ago Colonial Williamsburg was hunting scenes of the capitals of the thirteen colonies to reproduce in the new building where visitors are introduced to the subject of America in revolution. An agent came to the Society inquiring for a view of Perth Amboy about 1775. She was informed that none was known that would serve the purpose earlier than this view, not yet owned by the Society. Although this scene is at least twenty-five years later than was preferred for the purpose, this view was used. The Society is extremely fortunate to have obtained so fine and rare a drawing, not only as a record but as a water color of considerable artistic merit.

A number of other gifts have been presented to the Society in recent months. These will be noted

from time to time in this column as information concerning them is gathered and as space permits. Some purchases have been made from the Library and Museum Fund. These too will be described.

A request has been made to the Society by Mr. Sherley W. Morgan, F.A.I.A., of Princeton, to publish information on the portico of Mercer Manor, in the hope that this handsome example of one of the great early nineteenth century American architects may be properly preserved.

The beautiful Greek Revival portico of four Ionic columns, surviving from the house near Princeton known as Mercer Manor, bears an inscription showing that it was created in 1836 from the designs of Thomas Ustick Walter. He was the second president of the American Institute of Architects (1876-87) and signed its original Constitution.

Walter was also the architect of such famous works as the wings and present dome of the Capitol in Washington, of Girard College in Philadelphia, and of Andalusia, historic home of Andrew Jackson's bitter enemy, Nicholas Biddle, on the banks of the Delaware River not far from Philadelphia.

The portico of Mercer Manor originally was part of another mansion, designed by Walter for Matthew Newkirk, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia. This house, which stood on the southwest corner of Thirteenth and Arch streets, was acquired in 1876 by the Society of the Sons of St. George and altered to serve as the meeting place of the Society under the name of St. George's Hall. Previously, the Society (which had been founded in 1772 with the object of giving "advice and assistance" to "Englishmen in distress") had met in local taverns.

In 1901 the Society sold the property. When the Hall was demolished, the columns and front were bought by Mr. H. B. Owsley of Princeton and re-erected at Mercer Manor. In 1956 the Institute for Advanced Study, which had acquired Mercer Manor, found it necessary to demolish the house. However, it carefully preserved the portico and front wall in the hope that a suitable location elsewhere can be found for this outstanding example of early American architecture.

The state has already agreed to accept the portico if it is erected as a feature of the Princeton Battlefield Memorial Park. Funds are being collected for rebuilding the portico on an appropriate spot on the battlefield. Interested persons are requested by Mr. Morgan to write to the honorable Joseph E. McLean, commissioner of the Department of Conservation and Economic Development, State House Annex, Trenton 25, urging that he accept the portico now while the drive for funds continues. About five thousand dollars has already been collected or promised to pay for re-erecting the portico.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

STEPHEN G. RICH has been a resident of New Jersey since 1923. He is vice-president of the Collectors Club, New York; treasurer, West Essex Philatelic Society (Montclair, N.J.); collector of New Jersey postal history since 1930, now limiting his field to Essex, Passaic and Union counties.

After reading his article on the postal history of East Orange you may want to look over any old envelopes you may have that bear postmarks and target killers. For many people stamp collecting has a fascination, but those collectors who limit themselves to cancellation marks have a more restricted field which, at the same time, requires considerable knowledge of local history.

GROVESTEND AND BRICK CHURCH

STEPHEN G. RICH

The first period of development of East Orange, in which it changed from three small villages amid farmlands into an old-type suburban community of large houses in spacious grounds, came roughly in the period 1878 to 1890. Evidently this development was part of the recovery period after the 1873 panic and depression. This era is in many ways the most interesting from the point of view of postal history, within many areas of varied nature. For one thing, it was the era in which were established great numbers of small fourth-class post offices, often several within what later became one community. Rural delivery was as yet not even thought of in our country; city delivery was not yet extended to smaller places, nor had village delivery yet been established.

In East Orange, which had become a separate municipality in 1863, there were then and up to the period of growth, four small villages. East Orange "proper" was the village around Grove and Main streets, with the railroad station on the Morris and Essex (D. L. & W. from 1866 on) at that point called "East Orange." Where Main Street crossed the track, at Arlington Avenue, was another village, known as "The Junction." Up close to the Orange boundary, along Main Street, was Brick Church. Over at Dodd Street and what appears to have been known as "Montclair Road"—straightened out later as North Park Street—was Doddtown.

The post office, called East Orange, and dating back to the separation of the township from Orange, was at the Grove and

Main streets village, or center. The other smaller villages did not have any post offices until later.

In the growth following 1878, Brick Church and the Junction were the centers. A fair number of the old mansard-roofed stately homes of the period have still survived here and there, especially just south of the Brick Church railroad station.

By 1881, the old lower village center had been sufficiently outrun in population by "The Junction," that the East Orange post office was moved into that area. I am unable to give the exact street address in this as in other cases, for lack of having yet investigated that phase. Nor have I knowledge of why this center was called "The Junction."

Residents in the original East Orange village, with no post offices nearer than Roseville within Newark, or that at the Junction, petitioned for an office of their own which was established in August, 1882, with the name "Grovestend." This name was adapted from the phrase "Grove Street End," abbreviating "street" in the usual way.

The removal of East Orange post office to the Junction and establishment of Grovestend, coincide with change of railroad station names from "The Junction" to East Orange, and former East Orange Station to Grove Street.

There still exist envelopes, with postmark dates from October 10, 1882, to December 23, 1886, mailed and canceled at Grovestend. Several different postmarking devices were used, starting with two different big double circle town-and-date marks made of rubber and with maltese-cross stamp killer attached. A standard metal device, with separate tarket killer, appears in July, 1884, and replaces all others. An oval "bumper" for circulars, with "P.O." in center, was in use in 1883. The accompanying picture of the second rubber device, in use in 1883, is chosen to represent this office. Note also the maltese cross. Grovestend was discontinued in October, 1888.

Brick Church, the most westerly village, had its own post office, again separate and fourth-class, from 1882 onward. The earliest known envelope showing that office has the Brick Church postmark, a single circle rubber handstamp for town and date, with attached target killer, December 23, 1882, as receiving mark on a letter forwarded from East Orange to which it has been incorrectly addressed. By July, 1883, Brick Church received its standardized metal postmark, with separate target killer. This killer was later replaced by irregular "corks." The latest known covers are in 1886, though this office existed until 1888 before absorption as a station of East Orange.

We show a postal card of 1883, with the metal postmark and target separate.

The successors to Grovestend and Brick Church are stations at East Orange post office. Both exist to this day. That at Grovestend is a small non-delivery office, Station No. 3, with only limited service.

Formerly it was Grove Street Station of East Orange. Brick Church is a large station, out of which carriers operate. The name of neither station appears on hand or machine postmarks today nor have they for many years past, save those for money orders, registered mail, or parcel post.

Doddtown, unlike Grovestend and Brick Church, appears not to have had a post office in its own name. But from at least the 1920's on, a non-delivery station similar to No. 3 at Grovestend has existed there, as "Doddtown Station."

Ampere, in the northeastern corner of East Orange, is a later development, with no village even existing at the time of the Grovestend and Brick Church offices. Treatment of Ampere's postal history is therefore properly not part of this article.

Postmarks of Grovestend and Brick Church

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

FRED SHELLEY

FROM THE LIBRARY

THERE are a host of people in this land of ours who conscientiously seek out the proper depository for old historic documents. Sometimes this search involves many letters or telephone calls. We might mention any number of such persons in New Jersey, and there are many outside our state who come or write or call us offering documents for consideration as gifts. Recently your librarian spent a pleasant hour in the Georgetown home of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney F. Taliaferro. Mrs. Taliaferro, whose father and other ancestors were born in New Jersey, subsequently presented a number of interesting family papers to the New Jersey Historical Society.

The most fascinating document is a subscription paper for the purchase of a brass cannon in Bloomfield in 1813. A transcription of this item appears on the following pages. The document gives us some new information on two neglected subjects, the history of Bloomfield and the War of 1812 in New Jersey. Since much of the document consists of signatures, it has been harder to transcribe than many. The Silas Munn who served on the committee is Mrs. Taliaferro's grandfather. He was commissioned a first lieutenant of artillery, Essex Brigade, in 1813. Apparently he received many of the amounts for his initials often appear, but these initials and other checks and crosses do not appear in the present transcription.

As for the cannon itself, it was used for drill and training for a number of years. Later in the nineteenth century it was used to help celebrate the Fourth of July. Today it is a familiar land mark on the Municipal Building grounds. It bears the inscription "Weinberg 1783." One legend has it that the piece was captured from the Hessians during the Revolution. A more credible story is that Eliphatel Hall and Simeon Baldwin purchased it in New York. Thomas A. Edison borrowed it during World War I for use in some experiments with explosives. With so little certainly known, it is satisfying to print this subscription paper 145 years after it was prepared.*

*Joseph F. Folsom, *Bloomfield Old and New* (Bloomfield, 1912), refers briefly to the cannon on pages 50-52. The staff of the Bloomfield Public Library has been most helpful in digging out newspaper and other accounts of the cannon.

Whereas it is agreed to raise a company of Light Artillery in Bloomfield —to purchase a Brass four pounder and to have the same neatly mounted computed to cost about two hundred Dollars for which purpose we the Subscribers promise to pay on demand the sum affixed to our respective names unto Thomas J. Baker, Joseph Munn, Robert Dodd, Samuel Baldwin and Silas Munn who are to superintend the purchasing and Acquiring the piece— It is agreed that the property shall be Vested in the Subscribers, in proportion to the Sum by each one paid— The piece shall be deposited in Arsenel lately built in Bloomfield, and shall on all public training Days be for the use and under the management of Said Company and shall continue so to be during the time the company shall exist and have a sufficient number of men to handle the piece regularly belonging thereunto and shall at all other times be under the care and at the disposal and direction of a Committee to be chose at regular meeting of the Proprietors, each subscriber having one Vote for every two Dollars by him paid and until other persons shall be chosen the above named persons shall constitute the Committee and in case the Company shall be disolved, the proprietors by a Vote in manner as above mentioned may direct their committee to make Sale of the piece and divide the money among the proprietors in proportion to the sums by each one given towards the purchasing and Acquiring the same—

Bloomfield March 31—1813——

Proprietors Names	$	Isaac J. Ward	2
Joseph Rogers	4	Josiah Ward	2
Noah Baldwin	2	Elias Littel	1
Nathaniel Dodd	2	Alexander Wilson	2
Bethuel Munn	2	John Purves	2
Matthias Baldwin	2	Robert Laing	2
John Wingis	2	David Bunstlaw [?]	1
Joseph C. Baldwin	1	Abraham Speer [?]	2
Caleb P. Baldwin	1	Cornelius Vangie	1
Aber Dodd	2	Danl. Beach Jr.	2
William Akers	2	Peter Gruet	1
Moses Crane	1	Peter P. Doremus	2
John Van Dyk	2	Matthias Smith	2
Moses A. Farrand	2	Eleazer Crane	2
Joseph Crane	2	Israel Crane	5
Matthew Baker	2	Garret Garrabrant	2
James Davis	2	Uriah Garrabrant	2
Stephen Morris	5	Samuel Cane[?]	1
paid by Isaac Dod		Jacob Garrabrant Jr.	2
John Moore	1	Caleb Baldwin	3
Israel Davis[?]	1	Joel Dunham	1
Samuel Pitt	2	Isaac Baldwin	1

Joseph Keen	2	Bethuel Ward Jur.	2
Thos Keen Jun	2	Enos Ward [?]	2
Abraham Bergen	1	Bethuel Ward	2
Thomas Hayes	2	Daniel Doudt[?]	2
Thos Camp[?]	2	Moses Harrison	2
John Berry	1	John Sigler	4
Moses F. Davis	2	Daniel Sigler Junr	2
Amos Dodd	2	Ephraim Vanguson	2
Eliphatel Hall	2	Joseph Van guson	2
E. D. Ward	2	James Vanguston	1
Abrm H. Cadmer	1	Christian Roelofson	2
John A King	2	Wm. P. Stiles	2
Awy Kunz[?]	1	Jotham Ward	1
Joseph Collins	1	John J. Baldwin	3
Caleb S. Davis	2	Samuel[?] Murray	2
Joseph Morris	2	Michael Cockefius[?]	1
John H. Osborn	2	Wm Pearce	1
Stephen Davis	1	Joseph Sigler	3
Isaac Dodd	5	Simeon Baldwin	4
Joseph Davis Esq	2	David Off Piker	2
Job S. Dodd	10	Neimiah Baldwin	1
Moses Dodd	2	John Munn	1
Joseph S. Ward	4		

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

For the first time in more than six years the name of Miriam V. Studley does not appear under this heading. The pressure of official duties and other activities have grown steadily greater for Miss Studley in each of the past few years. At last she said that she must, though with reluctance, cease this contribution to the Society. We shall miss her and so will most of our readers. Yet she will continue to tell us from time to time of certain materials that come to her attention and are likely otherwise to escape ours. We shall hope to do half as well in the future as she has done in the past; to Miss Studley the warm thanks of us all.

REVIEWS

Country Life in Fairfield, New Jersey, from 1887 to 1909. By Roscoe W. DeBaun. (Caldwell: The author, 1957. 102 pages.)

A Family Heritage: Letters and Journals of Caroline Hyde Butler Laing, 1804-1892. Edited by Edith Nevill Smythe Ward. (East Orange: Abbey Printers, 1957. 161 pages.)

Here are two quite different books, each representing a happy result for local history of intelligent devotion

to a past that is gone. Mr. DeBaun writes of the Fairfield he knew for the first two decades of his life.* The very name of the community has almost vanished now, save in memory and in a few old records. Caldwell Township in northwest Essex County contains little more than what was once called Fairfield. The author gives us a most readable account of what life was like when he grew up there, and he presents a host of welcome detail in a period that is not yet satisfactorily written about. A few of the headings will suggest the treat a prospective reader has in store: "Village Cobbler," "Dutch Ancestry," "Ice Houses," "Corn Planting," "Annual Excursion," "First Magic Lantern," "Bicycle Parties," "Well Stocked Pantry," "Lost Horse," and "Sunday School Picnic." The illustrations form an excellent record to match the text.

Mrs. Ward, who kindly presented a copy of her book to the Society, has given us quite a different local history treasure. She has printed many of the letters and journals of her great-grandmother whose name appears in the title. That remarkable lady, whose memory is still cherished in her family, "travelled with equal nonchalance by stagecoach in 1817, by clipper ship in 1836, and by steamboat in 1869 . . . " She wrote pleasant, informative letters; a touching tribute to her father; and careful, detailed journals of trips. Twice-widowed, she was the mother of ten children, and for a time helped support herself by writing stories for *Graham's* and other magazines and by publishing several books. Although a New Englander by birth, Mrs. Laing spent much of her life in New York and Philadelphia and a number of her descendants have lived in New Jersey.

The most interesting record she left is the journal of a voyage to Canton, China, by way of the Cape of Good Hope and the Indian Ocean in 1836 when she was thirty-two. The trip was made for her health as she was threatened with consumption. Well she and her husband might fear the disease that had taken the lives of her father and her sister.

The trip meant leaving four young children in the care of another for nearly a year. Since she lived to be a ripe eighty-eight, the trip was certainly successful! The descriptions of the sea voyages and the stay of several weeks in Canton make for quite good reading.

In a notice such as this we cannot pretend to suggest all that is of interest in Mrs. Ward's book. The factual appendices, the pen drawings, the reproductions of family portraits and photographs complete a volume that is welcome on the shelves of the Society's library.

Locomotives of the Jersey Central. By Warren B. Crater and Arthur E. Owen, Jr. (Roselle Park, N.J.: Published by Mr. Crater, 270 W. Colfax Ave., 1958. iv, 83 pages. Price $2.50.) A fantastic amount of devotion and labor has gone into this slender booklet. Every engine—steam and

*The author, Mr. DeBaun, died before the books had been delivered by the printer.

diesel—of the Central Railroad of New Jersey and of each absorbed railroad is accounted for by Messrs. Crater and Owen. Nothing more need to be said to the railroad enthusiast except, perhaps, that it compares favorably with Lawrence Sagle's *A Picture History of B & O Motive Power* published by Simmons-Boardman a few years ago. For the rest of us who are always fascinated by engines old and new there are dozens of pictures of locomotives used for more than a century and a readable text. This is a record of importance for New Jersey history. We should be glad that there are so many persons like these authors in New Jersey interested in one or another phase of our history and that their efforts result in publications of permanent value and interest.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

The Early Woolen Industry of New Jersey. By Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Ziegler. (Trenton: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1958. 100 pages.)

Everybody's Metropolitan Law. By Martin Kramer. (Newark: Associated Lawyers Publishing Co., 1958.) A summary of modern law in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

Newspapers on Microfilm. (Cleveland: Micro Photo, 1958. 30 pages.) A listing of American newspapers available for purchase commercially; more than thirty New Jersey titles are included.

Traditions of Hunterdon. By John W. Lequear. (Flemington: D. H. Moreau, 1957. 210 pages.)

History and Biography

"Aaron Burr of New York," by Dr. Samuel Engle Burr, Jr., in *The Yorker,* March-April, 1958, p. 10.

"The Battle of Springfield, N.J., June 23, 1780," by Henry C. McMullen, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1958, pp. 174, 181-83.

"Brief Outline of the Origin of the Springfield Historical Society," by Charles F. Heard, in *Springfield Historical Society Bulletin No. 1,* January 1957.

"Capt. Eliakim Littell, Springfield Hero," by E. A. Baldwin, in *Springfield Historical Society Bulletin No. 2,* October 1957.

"Early Days," by Edwin A. Baldwin, in *Springfield Historical Society Bulletin No. 3,* May 1958. Abraham Wooley and early Springfield.

"Education in Springfield," by Henry C. McMullen, in *Springfield Historical Society Bulletin No. 1,* January 1957.

"Education through History," by Howard F. Casselman, in *Springfield Historical Society Bulletin No. 3,* May 1958. The new president of the Society states its educational objectives.

"First Presbyterian Church at Hazen, New Jersey," by Benjamin R. Pittenger, in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1958, p. 182.

"Funds Drive for Trent House," by Mrs. Joseph L. Bodine, in *Trenton,* May 1958, pp. 10-11.

"H. S. Kline—Civic-Minded Realtor," in *Trenton,* April 1958, pp. 18-19.

"The Hutchings Homestead, by Howard F. Casselman, in *Spring-*

field Historical Society Bulletin No. 2, October 1957. The home of the Society, better known today as the Cannonball House.

"Japanese Cherry Trees in Bloom in Branch Brook Park," in *Realtor,* April 1958, pp. 2, 3. History of gift by Mrs. Felix Fuld.

"The Jersey Devil" by Anne Ryan, in *New York Folklore Quarterly,* Spring 1958, pp. 55-58. Recent version; comment by Herbert Halpert on p. 79, under "Contributors."

"Man on an Iron Road," Part II, in *Ties, The Southern Railway System Magazine,* April 1958, pp. 11-14. Continuation of an article about Horatio Allen, railroad pioneer, who lived at one time in South Orange.

"Megalopolis or the Urbanization of the Eastern Seaboard," by Jean Gottman, in *Economic Geography,* July 1957, pp. 189-200. Emphasizes New Jersey's continuing function as a link between New York and Philadelphia.

"Minutes of the Council of Safety," in *Springfield Historical Society Bulletin No. 3,* May 1958. Extracts relating to Springfield.

"Morris Avenue," by Donald B. Palmer, in *Springfield Historical Society Bulletins Nos. 1 and 2,* January, October 1957.

"The Old Barracks at Trenton: Military Hospital of the Revolution," by Fred B. Rogers, M.D., in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey,* April 1958, pp. 176-78.

"The Old Barracks at Trenton," by Louise B. Ralston, in *New Jersey Education Association Review,* April 1958, pp. 352-53, 377.

"Old Barracks Celebrates 200th Anniversary," in *Trenton,* May 1958, pp. 8, 22-23.

"Researcher's Corner," by Elizabeth Van Loan, in *Springfield Historical Society Bulletin No. 3,* May 1958. Old deeds and wills of Springfield.

"Rutgers—Big, Modern, Ready to Grow," in *New Jersey Education Review,* March 1958, pp. 312-16, 335.

"The Signers in Stone," by Walter N. Eastburn, in *Manuscripts,* Winter 1958, pp. 43-47. A New Jerseyman writes about the stone walk at the estate of the late Charles F. Jenkins; one stone represents each of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, including New Jersey's four.

"Springfield Treasures," by Howard W. Wiseman, in *Springfield Historical Society Bulletin No. 3,* May 1958. Account of Springfield's early newspaper the *Morning Herald and Weekly Advertiser,* the only known issue of which is in the New Jersey Historical Society library; and of the Springfield people who made claims for damage during the Revolutionary War. A 31-page list of claimants for damage is in the State Library in Trenton.

"This is New Jersey—One Year Later," in *New Jersey Bell,* April 1958, pp. 8-9. Story of phenomenal success of the movie "This is New Jersey," based on John T. Cunningham's book of the same name.

"1800-1810 map of 'South Moun-

tain' Area with Present Names of Streets on Map," in *New Jersey Genesis,* April 1958, p. 183. What is now sections of Maplewood and Millburn once comprising part of Springfield Township.

"$20,000 Campaign to Retain Furnishings at Trent House," by Howard L. Hughes, in *Trenton,* April 1958, pp. 5-6.

Business History

"For Esterbrook Pens—a Century of Chirography," in *New Jersey Business,* April 1958, p. 15.

"G. Krueger Brewing Flows Smoothly by the 100 Mark," in *New Jersey Business,* April 1958, pp. 16-17.

"GM's Ternstedt Plant: a Story of Impact on a Community," by Karl G. Hastedt, in *Trenton,* May 1958, pp. 6-7, 25-29. A history of an industrial plant established in 1938.

"Our 100-Year Firms," in *New Jersey Business,* April 1958, pp. 18-19. A chronological listing of New Jersey firms established in the state from 1743 through 1858.

"Rendezvous with the Historic," by John T. Cunningham, in *New Jersey Business,* April 1958, pp. 20-21. The New Jersey Historical Society, by a trustee.

Genealogy

"Bible Records: Coate, Gardiner, and Wright Families," by Albert L. Stokes, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* Jan./Apr. 1957, pp. 1-8.

"Bowlby of Mansfield-Woodhouse, Nottinghamshire, England; of Burlington, Morris, Hunterdon, and Sussex Counties, N. J.; of Philadelphia, Penna.; and of Nova Scotia," by Lewis D. Cook, in *American Genealogist,* January 1958, pp. 20-24.

"Essex County Gravestones: South Orange Cemetery," *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* Jan./Apr. 1957, pp. 9-16.

"Female Diminutives," by Winifred Holman and Donald L. Jacobus, in *American Genealogist,* April 1958, pp. 96-98.

"New Jersey Legislative Divorces, 1778-1884," by George E. McCracken, in *American Genealogist,* April 1958, pp. 107-12.

"Records of the Dutch Congregations of Freehold and Middletown," by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* Jan./Apr. 1957, pp. 17-26. Continuation.

"Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Cranbury, contributed by Edward J. Raser, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* Jan./Apr. 1957, pp. 39-48. Conclusion.

"Some Descendants of the Kierstede Family of New Jersey, by William Y. Pryor, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record,* January 1958, pp. 1-14. Includes data on the Bush family as well as on the Kierstede family.

"Somerset County Gravestones: Harlingen Cemetery, at Belle Mead," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* Jan./Apr. 1957, pp. 27-38. Continuation.

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PASSAIC FALLS IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY. Aquatint by F. Jukes after Alexander Robertson. Published in London January 1, 1802. Collection Harold J. Dahl and George Connor. Catalogue No. 12.

PASSAIC FALLS. Water color. "Drawn by my father Archibald Robertson [1765-1835]. Andrew J. Robertson, 19 West 35th St. N.Y." Dated "1789" in pencil. Collection The New Jersey Historical Society. Catalogue No. 11.

VIEW OF THE PASSAIC FALLS. Line engraving 4¾ in. x 7¼ in. Engraved by J. Sands after William Henry Bartlett's sepia drawing prior to 1840. Collection Harold J. Dahl and George Connor. Catalogue No. 24.